



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

EducT  
810,730  
450

1776. English Classics

Burke  
on Conciliation  
with America

John Burke

Due T 810.730.450



Harvard College Library

FROM

.....  
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT LIBRARY  
.....



3 2044 097 036 024

1460



BY A. J. GEORGE, A.M.

---

*Wordsworth's Prelude.* With Notes.

*Selections from Wordsworth.* With Notes.

*Wordsworth's Prefaces and Essays on Poetry.*  
With Notes.

*Burke's Speeches on the American War, and Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol.* With Notes.

*Select Speeches of Daniel Webster.* With Notes.

*Syllabus of English History and Literature.*

In Preparation.

*Wordsworth's Excursion and White Doe of Ryhope.*

*Select Poems of Coleridge.*

*The History and Literature of Scotland:*

I. The Highlands. II. The Border.

Heath's English Classics

BURKE'S  
SPEECH ON CONCILIATION WITH  
AMERICA

1775

*WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

BY

A. J. GEORGE, A.M.

INSTRUCTOR IN RHETORIC AND ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE  
NEWTON, MASS., HIGH SCHOOL

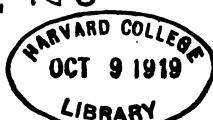
*"Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom"*

BOSTON, U.S.A.  
D. C. HEATH & CO., PUBLISHERS

1898

~~F 88.2320~~

Entered 810.730.450



Transferred from  
Education Department Library  
Harvard University,  
Dept. of Education Library

COPYRIGHT, 1895,  
By A. J. GEORGE.

TO

**THOMAS EMERSON**

IN MEMORY OF PLEASANT ASSOCIATIONS

“BLEST Statesman He, whose Mind’s unselfish will  
Leaves him at ease among grand thoughts: whose eye  
Sees that, apart from magnanimity,  
Wisdom exists not; nor the humbler skill  
Of Prudence, disentangling good and ill  
With patient care. What tho’ assaults run high,  
They daunt not him who holds his ministry,  
Resolute, at all hazards, to fulfil  
Its duties; prompt to move, but firm to wait;  
Knowing, things rashly sought are rarely found;  
That, for the functions of an ancient State —  
Strong by her charters, free because imbound,  
Servant of Providence, not slave of Fate —  
Perilous is sweeping change, all chance unsound.”

## P R E F A C E.

---

WHEN we study the history of those nations which have given to the world models of art in literature, we are surprised often at the meagreness of the literature of oratory in these nations. Numerous as are the occasions when great audiences have been moved to thought and action by the words of a leader, very few are the instances where these words have been so treasured by time that they hold a place among the great classics ; whereas the literature of poetry in the same nations is abundant in evidence of immortality. This apparent discrimination in favor of the poet is evidently due to the fact that the occasional oratory, effective as it may have been at the time, did not approach near enough to great poetry to possess the element which the Germans call *unendlichkeit*, infinitude, or universality ; it did not rise out of the limitations of time and place into the sphere of great truths where all art must live and move and have its being.

It is interesting and profitable to compare the poetry of oratory with the oratory of poetry. Such a study reveals the kinship of poet and orator ; that in the infancy of literary art the two are one, in virtue of the shaping and transforming power of imagination,— “the vision and the faculty divine,”— which protests against the unreality of a life in which the senses are supreme.

In that distant past, when our Saxon forefathers — story-loving, story-telling people —

“Went about their gravest deeds  
Like noble boys at play,”

poetry, philosophy, and oratory were born from a common parent ; they have now wandered so far from their old home that they hardly recognize it ; nor do they treat each other as children of one household. The Gleeman stood forth in the assembly of the tribe on the forest hill-tops — or in the mead-hall hung with glittering armor, shield, spear, and coat of mail — and tuned his harp and voice to the wild passion of victory, or to the pathetic wail of defeat ; or with eager joy sang the praise of some hero, strong in body and great in soul, and wove a tale that inspired his listeners to grasp their armor with a determination to do and to be, as he uttered that note of freedom, when

“Woe, woe to tyrants ! from his lyre  
Broke threateningly in sparkles dire  
Of fierce, vindictive song.”

In these modest, sincere, artless, and impassioned songs we have the secret of the poet, the philosopher, and the orator ; the secret which baffles analysis and defies definition. These ballads — sung *by* men whose only motive for singing was to reveal bravery and nobility, sung *of* men whose interest in life was loyalty and trueheartedness — still remain models of

“Truth-breathèd music, soul-like lays  
Not of vain-glory born, nor love of praise.”

By stimulating curiosity, or a desire to know ; obedience, or a desire to do ; and admiration, or a desire to become ; these

unknown singers open wide the doors which lead to the kingdom of life and art. They seem to anticipate Browning's *Abt Vogler*, who sang :—

“ Sorrow is hard to bear, and doubt is slow to clear;  
Each sufferer says his say, his scheme of the weal and the woe;  
But God has a few of us whom he whispers in the ear;  
The rest may reason, and welcome : 'tis we musicians know.”

When life becomes “sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought”; when the vigor and spontaneity of youth are lost in an over-refined civilization, fortunate are we if we listen to the voice of the prophets who cry,

“ Art has truth, take refuge there,”  
and seeking these well-springs of health and sweetness, there find comfort and peace,—

“ For there is shed  
On spirits that have long been dead,  
Spirits dried up and closely furl'd,  
The freshness of the early world.”

On British soil literary art revealed itself naturally and spontaneously in the form of poetry—lyric, epic, and dramatic; and these forms reached perfection before prose—the essay, the novel, and the oration—had given signs of more than a germinal existence. This was the inevitable order with a people whose life was the free, adventurous, and picturesque activity of childhood and youth. There is much in the character of the genial outlaw, Robin Hood, to suggest the English man of action before the seventeenth century.

“ For why ? — because the good old rule  
Sufficeth them, the simple plan,  
That they should take, who have the power,  
And they should keep who can.”

Imagination was nourished for a long time by the tales brought from the Continent,—*The Traveller*, *The Fight at Finnesburg*, and the epic of *Beowulf*, tales “Of old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago,” until English poetry rose clear and full-orbed in Northumbria with Cædmon, the cowherd. It then passed through a serene and cloudless sky with Chaucer and Spenser, and reached high noon with the Romantic drama of Shakespeare and the Puritan epic of Milton; then, after a temporary eclipse, it set in an evening of extraordinary splendor and beauty with Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning, and our western horizon is still ablaze with its glory.

“From worlds not quickened by the sun  
A portion of the gift is won.”

“Tis endued with power to stay  
And sanctify one closing day.”

Previous to the sixteenth century the language of the people reflected the life of the time; it was somewhat wayward and frisky. Sedate thinkers like Bacon did not dare trust their precious wares to its keeping. Milton, in his poem *At a Vacation Exercise*, written in 1628, broke the university statutes which required that all academic discourses should be written in Latin, and “crossed over” to English in the second movement of the poem with—

“Hail Native Language!  
Thou needst not be ambitious to be first;  
Believe me I have thither packed the worst.”

Although the special investigator may find the germs of modern prose in Bæda and Alfred, the general student will not meet it upon the highways of literature as a rival of poetry

until the sixteenth century, and then its appearance is only occasional. There could be no soil for English prose so long as the people could not read, and Latin remained the language of scholarship ; but life—and as a result, literature—in England received a mighty impulse from the three great movements in the national history : the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 ; the development of the Constitution, and the freedom granted by the Bill of Rights, 1688 ; and the new spirit born of the French Revolution, 1789.

In the sixteenth century prose was pluming itself for its long flight with Bacon and Milton, with Addison and Goldsmith, with Johnson and Burke, to the heights where we now find it with Macaulay, Carlyle, and Newman, Arnold, Ruskin, and Pater.

During the last half of the eighteenth century, when the energy of England was taxed to its utmost in the political arena, there was developed the literature of oratory, and British eloquence added new splendor to prose. The times were seeking the man of large and liberal ideas. There existed a reading public. Parliamentary speeches were now allowed to be published. The Press was practically free to praise or blame. The post carried the pamphlet and the newspaper to the villages, and thus the English *people* became the audience. At length the man was found, and that man was Edmund Burke.

Mr. John Morley, in his admirable life of Burke, says of the *Speeches on the American War* : “ If ever in the fulness of time, and surely the fates of men and literature cannot have it otherwise, Burke becomes one of the half dozen names of established and universal currency in education and in common books, rising above the waywardness of literary caprice or intellectual fashion, as Shakespeare and Milton and Bacon rise above it, it will be the mastery, the elevation, the wisdom, of these far-

shining discourses in which the world will in an especial degree recognize the combination of sovereign gifts with beneficent uses." The "fulness of time" has indeed come ; already Burke is beginning to be studied for the same reason that Shakespeare and Milton are studied. Better than any writer of modern times, he represents the spirit of Wordsworth's lines :

"We must be free or die, who speak the tongue  
That Shakespeare spoke; the faith and morals hold  
Which Milton held."

The life and work of Burke naturally falls into three periods : that of preparation, of the American War, of the French Revolution. The growth of his mind and art from the early pamphlets to the great speeches in Parliament is the gradual unfolding of that mysterious something which defies analysis, and to which we give the name of Genius. The Speeches on the American War represent one stage in the course of this movement ; they are therefore a history and a prophecy ; they reveal what has been, and give glimpses of heights that are higher. In the national spirit, the wealth of imagination, the depth of passion, the breadth of sympathy, the keen analytic power, the steady and strong undercurrent of religious feeling, we have the essential elements of Burke's style.

Mr. Morley makes a very interesting and suggestive comparison of Burke and Wordsworth which reveals the spiritual kinship of orator and poet. He says : "The only great writer of that age whom we can name along with Burke in the literature of enduring power, is Wordsworth, that great representative in another and a higher field, and with many rare elements added that were all his own, of those harmonizing and conciliatory forces and ideas that make man's destiny easier to

him through piety in its oldest and best sense ; through reverence for the past, for duty, for institutions. . . . Wide as is the difference between an oratorical and a declamatory mind like Burke's and the least oratorical of all poets, yet under this difference of form and temper there is a striking likeness in spirit. There was the same energetic feeling about moral ideas, the same frame of counsel and prudence, the same love for the slowness of time, the same slight account held of mere intellectual knowledge."

"Wordsworth has been called the High Priest of Nature," says Mr. Augustine Birrell, "and Burke may be called the High Priest of Order — a lover of settled ways, justice, peace, and security. His writings are a storehouse of wisdom, not the cheap shrewdness of the mere man of the world, but the noble, animating wisdom of one who has the poet's heart as well as a statesman's brain. 'Have you read your Burke?' is a sensible question to put to every parliamentary candidate."

The only *cause* in the sphere of Burke's art, the only *cause* in the world of art, is personality ; to reach this is to reach the centre and source of all things in Nature and human life: It is through great men that God's revelations reach us. Carlyle has said that the history of the world is the biography of great men, and that admiration for a great personality is the most vivifying influence in the life of a man. Emerson voices the same sentiment where he tells us to beware when God sends a great soul upon the planet, for then all things are in danger.

The unity in literary art has its source in God, and the unity in the work of any great artist is in his own personality. To come into vital relations with the artist through the medium of his works ; to become his friend to whom he may reveal the secrets of his mind and heart ; to become quickened by

his spirit, and receptive to his ideals, as the waters are to the sky's influence,—this is to gain the central motive of a great life, and is the end of all true literary interpretation. Where this is done, order reigns where before all seemed chaotic, and one feels a thrill of emotion akin to that which the author had in creating the work.

“If there did not something else go to the making of literature,” says Mr. John Burroughs, “besides mere literary parts, how long ago the old bards and Biblical writers would have been superseded by the learned and gentlemanly versifiers of later times. . . . Only those books are for the making of men into which a man has gone in the making.”

Lowell, who was a most stimulating and successful teacher of the great literatures, was wont to praise these lines of Johnson: “Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses ; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings.”

It has been said that the proper object of education is the training of the powers of observation, judgment, expression, memory, and the creation of high ideals of life.

Will the study of literature be as effective in gaining the former of these ends as in furnishing means for the latter? Literature is indeed a fine art and its end is inspiration, not information : its law is enjoyment as a prerequisite for right understanding. Every form of art is the embodiment of method, and to gain the principles governing that method is as laborious and painstaking a process, and the same in kind, as that required to comprehend the laws of mechanics or geology.

The subject, whether it be a lyric, an epic, or a drama, an essay, an oration, or a novel, is the territory to be studied ; the method is observation and induction ; the teacher is the guide

whose duty it is to select the ground to be visited, and to make the approach to it in such a way that the pupil may do his own seeing, and may thus develop the powers of *observation*; that he may determine the different angles in the tilting of the various strata, the constitution of soil, and the rock formation, and thus *compare* and *judge*; that he may record his observations, formulate and state his conclusions, and thus develop *clear expression*; that he may retain impressions and conclusions, and thus strengthen *memory*. Thus we see that the manner of gaining facts in the examination of a work of art is essentially the same as that in the examination of a section of the country for the facts of its formation, etc. Why, then, should not the one exercise be as useful as the other as an educational process?

Hence, while maintaining that the end of literary study should be access of power through insight into and assimilation of the elements of truth and beauty, we insist, none the less, that if properly ordered, the study will promote strength and discipline of mind.

The new requirements in English for College Entrance Examinations will do much to raise the character of English teaching in secondary schools, and will make the editing of English classics something other than the mechanical work it has often seemed to be. A masterpiece of literary art must be presented in such a manner that its study will lead naturally and necessarily to the study of other works of the same author, and to the works of other authors in the same literary period. Such study will lead to an appreciation not only of a great artist but also of the national spirit which developed that art and which is revealed by it. Webster's *First Bunker Hill Oration* and Burke's *Speech on Conciliation with America*

are edited to meet the above requirements. Both of these selections are set for the college preparatory work, the examination upon which presupposes a thorough study of the subject-matter, the form, and the period—literary and political—which they represent.

These speeches are the highest types of oratory in the two great English-speaking nations, and the study of them should lead to a genuine appreciation of the noble character and lofty ideals of these great men. Burke and Webster are models in the forensic literature of our own language as truly as are Demosthenes and Cicero in the language of the ancient classics. Each has distinct and inimitable characteristics which give force and beauty to his work. The study of each should be ordered in such a way as to put one in touch with those qualities of mind and heart, of intellectual and moral manhood, by which each became a leader in political philosophy and a model in literary style. One who studies such authors in order to formulate a historical or a personal estimate merely, or to compare each as to certain externals of rhetorical form, has lost the true perspective of literary judgment. “The little conceited specialist,” says Phillips Brooks, “with small curiosity, and less obedience, and no admiration, is incapable of the fullest approach and entrance of truth.”

Reading in the school and in the home is far too often pursued with a purpose to controvert and prove rather than to weigh and consider. Reading which does not result in enlarging, stimulating, and refining one’s nature is but a busy idleness. The schools should do something to correct the desultory and dissipating methods of reading, so prevalent in the home. Pupils must be stimulated first of all to enjoy what is beautiful in nature and art: for here is

“A world of ready wealth,  
Their minds and hearts to bless—  
Spontaneous wisdom breathed by health,  
Truth breathed by cheerfulness.”

The wisdom of the classroom is too often “art tongue-tied by authority,” and hence it is not wisdom at all, but a sham and a pretence. Not until pupils rise to the spontaneity which betokens a genuine love for the work in hand do they secure the richest results.

I am constrained to protest against the method of annotation which prevails to such an extent in our text-books of English literature,—a method which pauperizes both teacher and pupil. When the notes furnish facts, biographical, historical, or linguistic, instead of showing where they may be found ; when they present criticism, æsthetic, philosophical, or textual, instead of directing to the sources of such criticism, they are mischievous in the extreme. By such a method the teacher is led to believe that success in teaching depends upon ability to dilate upon such material, and he begins at once to magnify these trifles until they obscure completely the end of reading ; sympathy with great truths and great men, love of beautiful conception and artistic execution languish and die ; while by this same method the pupil is taught to believe that his ability to read depends upon his *scholarship* in getting up notes — a mere lip service.

When teachers insist upon notes that stimulate inquiry and send the mind on voyages of discovery, we may be assured such notes will be furnished ; but so long as they are apathetic and love scholastic ease and padded texts, so long must they

“Pore and dwindle as they pore.”

When both teacher and pupil look through the broad win-

dows and breathe the atmosphere admitted through the open doors of the imagination, instead of peering through the chinks and breathing the stifling air of the workshop, they will run and not be weary.

Although Dr. Johnson's edition of Shakespeare may have been worthless as regards scholarship, yet there is vigorous English as well as "colossal good sense" in the Preface. His remarks on the use of notes are so fresh and suggestive that I cannot refrain from quoting them. "Notes are often necessary," he says, "but they are necessary evils. Let him that is yet unacquainted with the powers of Shakespeare, and who desires to feel the highest pleasure that the drama can give, read every play from the first scene to the last, with utter negligence of all his commentators. When his fancy is once on the wing, let it not stoop at correction or explanation. When his attention is strongly engaged, let it disdain alike to turn aside to the name of Theobald and of Pope. Let him read on, through brightness and obscurity, through integrity and corruption; let him preserve his comprehension of the dialogue and his interest in the fable. And when the pleasures of novelty have ceased, let him attempt exactness and read the commentators."

Let this be printed in large over the entrance to our English classrooms and we shall not have to wait a century and a quarter more for teachers as independent as this lusty old hero of letters.

In the preparation of the notes the editor has confined himself to the historical setting and interpretation of the work, and has left the question of literary merit to be wrought out by the pupil under the inspiration of the class-room exercise.

A. J. G.

BROOKLINE, November, 1894.

## INTRODUCTION.

---

ONE of the noblest masterpieces in the literature of civil and political wisdom, is to be found in Burke's three productions on the American War ; his speech on Taxation in 1774 ; on Conciliation in 1775 ; and his Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, 1777.

These three pieces are the most perfect manual in all literature for the study of great affairs, whether for the purpose of knowledge or action. They are an example without fault of all the qualities which the critic, whether a theorist or an actor, of great political situations should strive by night and by day to possess. . . . No student worthy of the name will lay aside these pieces, so admirable in their literary expression, so important for history, so rich in lessons of civil wisdom, until he has found out something from other sources as to the circumstances from which such writings arose, and as to the man whose resplendent genius inspired them. — JOHN MORLEY.

The great value of all his speeches, before and during the American War, is, I apprehend, this, that he treats relations between countries as if they were no less real than the relations between individuals. — REV. F. D. MAURICE.

Unlike Hume, whose politics were elaborated in the study, Burke wrote his political tracts and speeches face to face with events, and upon them. Philosophical reasoning and poetic passion were wedded together in them on the side of conservatism, and every art of eloquence was used with the mastery that imagination gives. — REV. STOPFORD BROOKE.

Burke's political philosophy was strictly a moral philosophy. The popular notions of good and evil, of right and wrong, as inculcated in the ordinary precepts of the Christian religion, were his standard of estimating all political actions. He can, indeed, only be justly characterized as the greatest political thinker of his time, and perhaps of any time. — THOMAS MACKNIGHT, *Life and Times of Burke*.

Among the eminent men who have influenced legislative assemblies in Great Britain and the United States, during the past hundred and twenty years, it is curious that only two have established themselves as men of the first class in English and American literature. These two men are Edmund Burke and Daniel Webster. — E. P. WHIPPLE.

In the common principles of all social and civil order, Burke is unquestionably our best and wisest teacher. In handling the particular questions of his time he always involves those principles, and brings them to their practical bearings, where they most "come home to the business and bosoms of men." And his pages are everywhere bright with the highest and purest political morality, while at the same time he is a consummate master in the intellectual charms and graces of authorship. — H. N. HUDSON.

SPEECH OF EDMUND BURKE, Esq.,  
ON  
MOVING HIS RESOLUTIONS  
FOR  
CONCILIATION WITH THE COLONIES.

MARCH 22, 1775.

—♦—

I HOPE, Sir, that, notwithstanding the austerity of the Chair, your good-nature will incline you to some degree of indulgence towards human frailty. You will not think it unnatural, that those who have an object depending, which strongly engages their hopes and fears, should be somewhat inclined to superstition. As I came into the House full of anxiety about the event of my motion, I found, to my infinite surprise, that the grand penal bill, by which we had passed sentence on the trade and sustenance of America, is to be returned to us from the other House.<sup>1</sup> I do confess, 5 I could not help looking on this event as a fortunate omen. I look upon it as a sort of providential favour ; by which we are put once more in possession of our deliberate capacity, upon a business so very questionable in its nature, so very uncertain in its issue. By the return of this bill, which 10 seemed to have taken its flight for ever, we are at this very instant nearly as free to choose a plan for our American government as we were on the first day of the session. If, Sir, 15

we incline to the side of conciliation, we are not at all embarrassed (unless we please to make ourselves so) by any incongruous mixture of coercion and restraint. We are therefore called upon, as it were by a superior warning 5 voice, again to attend to America ; to attend to the whole of it together ; and to review the subject with an unusual degree of care and calmness.

Surely it is an awful subject ; or there is none so on this side of the grave. When I first had the honour of a seat in 10 this House, the affairs of that continent pressed themselves upon us, as the most important and most delicate object of parliamentary attention. My little share in this great deliberation oppressed me. I found myself a partaker in a very high trust ; and having no sort of reason to rely on the 15 strength of my natural abilities for the proper execution of that trust, I was obliged to take more than common pains to instruct myself in everything which relates to our colonies. I was not less under the necessity of forming some fixed ideas concerning the general policy of the British empire.<sup>1</sup> Something of this sort seemed to be indispensable ; in order, amidst so vast a fluctuation of passions and opinions, to centre my thoughts ; to ballast my conduct ; to preserve me from being blown about by every wind of fashionable doctrine. I really did not think it safe, or manly, to have fresh 20 principles to seek upon every fresh mail which should arrive from America.

At that period I had the fortune to find myself in perfect concurrence with a large majority in this House.<sup>2</sup> Bowing under that high authority, and penetrated with the sharpness and strength of that early impression, I have continued 25 ever since, without the least deviation, in my original senti-

ments. Whether this be owing to an obstinate perseverance in error, or to a religious adherence to what appears to me truth and reason, it is in your equity to judge.

Sir, parliament having an enlarged view of objects, made, during this interval, more frequent changes in their sentiments and their conduct, than could be justified in a particular person upon the contracted scale of private information. But though I do not hazard anything approaching to censure on the motives of former parliaments to all those alterations, one fact is undoubted, — that under them the state of America has been kept in continual agitation. Everything administered as remedy to the public complaint, if it did not produce, was at least followed by, an heightening of the temper; until, by a variety of experiments, that important country has been brought into her present situation; — a situation which I will not miscall, which I dare not name; which I scarcely know how to comprehend in the terms of any description.

In this posture, Sir, things stood at the beginning of the session. About that time, a worthy member<sup>1</sup> of great parliamentary experience, who, in the year 1766, filled the chair of the American committee with much ability, took me aside; and, lamenting the present aspect of our politics, told me, things were come to such a pass, that our former methods of proceeding in the House would be no longer tolerated. That the public tribunal (never too indulgent to a long and unsuccessful opposition) would now scrutinize our conduct with unusual severity. That the very vicissitudes and shifting of ministerial measures, instead of convicting their authors of inconstancy and want of system, would be taken as an occasion of charging us with a predetermined discontent,

which nothing could satisfy ; whilst we accused every measure of vigour as cruel, and every proposal of lenity as weak and irresolute. The public, he said, would not have patience to see us play the game out with our adversaries : we must produce our hand. It would be expected, that those who for many years had been active in such affairs should show that they had formed some clear and decided idea of the principles of colony government ; and were capable of drawing out something like a platform of the ground which might be laid for future and permanent tranquillity.

I felt the truth of what my honourable friend represented ; but I felt my situation too. His application might have been made with far greater propriety to many other gentlemen. No man was indeed ever better disposed, or worse qualified, for such an undertaking, than myself. Though I gave so far in to his opinion, that I immediately threw my thoughts into a sort of parliamentary form, I was by no means equally ready to produce them. It generally argues some degree of natural impotence of mind, or some want of knowledge of the world, to hazard plans of government except from a seat of authority. Propositions are made, not only ineffectually, but somewhat disreputably, when the minds of men are not properly disposed for their reception ; and for my part, I am not ambitious of ridicule ; not absolutely a candidate for disgrace.

Besides, Sir, to speak the plain truth, I have in general no very exalted opinion of the virtue of paper government ; nor of any politics in which the plan is to be wholly separated from the execution. But when I saw that anger and violence prevailed every day more and more ; and that things were hastening towards an incurable alienation of

our colonies ; I confess my caution gave way. I felt this, as one of those few moments in which decorum yields to a higher duty. Public calamity is a mighty leveller ; and there are occasions when any, even the slightest, chance of doing good, must be laid hold on, even by the most 5 inconsiderable person.

To restore order and repose to an empire so great and so distracted as ours, is, merely in the attempt, an undertaking that would ennoble the flights of the highest genius, and obtain pardon for the efforts of the meanest understanding. Struggling a good while with these thoughts, by degrees I felt myself more firm. I derived, at length, some confidence from what in other circumstances usually produces timidity. I grew less anxious, even from the idea of my own insignificance. For, judging of what you are by 15 what you ought to be, I persuaded myself that you would not reject a reasonable proposition because it had nothing but its reason to recommend it. On the other hand, being totally destitute of all shadow of influence, natural or adventitious, I was very sure, that, if my proposition were futile 20 or dangerous ; if it were weakly conceived, or improperly timed, there was nothing exterior to it, of power to awe, dazzle, or delude you. You will see it just as it is : and you will treat it just as it deserves.

The proposition is peace. Not peace through the medium of war ; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations ; not peace to arise out of universal discord, fomented from principle, in all parts of the empire ; not peace to depend on the juridical determination of perplexing questions, or the precise marking 25 30 the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It

is simple peace ; sought in its natural course, and in its ordinary haunts.— It is peace sought in the spirit of peace ; and laid in principles purely pacific. I propose, by removing the ground of the difference, and by restoring the *former* 5 *unsuspecting confidence of the colonies in the mother country*, to give permanent satisfaction to your people ; and (far from a scheme of ruling by discord) to reconcile them to each other in the same act, and by the bond of the very same interest which reconciles them to British government.

10 My idea is nothing more. Refined policy ever has been the parent of confusion ; and ever will be so, as long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view, as fraud is surely detected at last, is, let me say, of no mean force in the government of 15 mankind. Genuine simplicity of heart is an healing and cementing principle. My plan, therefore, being formed upon the most simple grounds imaginable, may disappoint some people, when they hear it. It has nothing to recommend it to the pruriency of curious ears. There is 20 nothing at all new and captivating in it. It has nothing of the splendour of the project, which has been lately laid upon your table by the noble lord in the blue riband.<sup>1</sup> It does not propose to fill your lobby with squabbling colony agents, who will require the interposition of your mace, at 25 every instant, to keep the peace amongst them. It does not institute a magnificent auction of finance, where captivated provinces come to general ransom by bidding against each other, until you knock down the hammer, and determine a proportion of payments beyond all the powers of 30 algebra to equalize and settle.

The plan which I shall presume to suggest, derives, how-

ever, one great advantage from the proposition and registry of that noble lord's project. The idea of conciliation is admissible. First, the House, in accepting the resolution moved by the noble lord, has admitted, notwithstanding the menacing front of our address,<sup>1</sup> notwithstanding our heavy bill of pains and penalties — that we do not think ourselves precluded from all ideas of free grace and bounty. 5

The House has gone further ; it has declared conciliation admissible, *previous* to any submission on the part of America. It has even shot a good deal beyond that mark, and 10 has admitted, that the complaints of our former mode of exerting the right of taxation were not wholly unfounded. That right thus exerted is allowed to have had something reprehensible in it ; something unwise, or something grievous ; since, in the midst of our heat and resentment, we, of 15 ourselves, have proposed a capital alteration ; and, in order to get rid of what seemed so very exceptionable, have instituted a mode that is altogether new ; one that is, indeed, wholly alien from all the ancient methods and forms of parliament. 20

The *principle* of this proceeding is large enough for my purpose. The means proposed by the noble lord for carrying his ideas into execution, I think, indeed, are very indifferently suited to the end ; and this I shall endeavour to show you before I sit down. But, for the present, I take my 25 ground on the admitted principle. I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconciliation ; and, where there has been a material dispute, reconciliation does in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other. In this state of things I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us. Great and acknowledged 30

force is not impaired, either in effect or in opinion, by an unwillingness to exert itself. The superior power may offer peace with honour and with safety. Such an offer from such a power will be attributed to magnanimity. But the concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear. When such a one is disarmed, he is wholly at the mercy of his superior ; and he loses for ever that time and those chances, which, as they happen to all men, are the strength and resources of all inferior power.

10. The capital leading questions on which you must this day decide, are these two : First, whether you ought to concede ; and secondly, what your concession ought to be. On the first of these questions we have gained (as I have just taken the liberty of observing to you) some ground. But I am 15 sensible that a good deal more is still to be done. Indeed, Sir, to enable us to determine both on the one and the other of these great questions with a firm and precise judgment, I think it may be necessary to consider distinctly the true nature and the peculiar circumstances of the object which 20 we have before us. Because after all our struggle, whether we will or not, we must govern America according to that nature, and to those circumstances ; and not according to our own imaginations ; nor according to abstract ideas of right ; by no means according to mere general theories of 25 government, the resort to which appears to me, in our present situation, no better than arrant trifling. I shall therefore endeavour, with your leave, to lay before you some of the most material of these circumstances in as full and as clear a manner as I am able to state them.

30. The first thing that we have to consider with regard to the nature of the object is — the number of people in the

colonies. I have taken for some years a good deal of pains on that point. I can by no calculation justify myself in placing the number below two millions of inhabitants of our own European blood and colour ; besides at least 500,000 others, who form no inconsiderable part of the strength and 5 opulence of the whole. This, Sir, is, I believe, about the true number. There is no occasion to exaggerate, where plain truth is of so much weight and importance. But whether I put the present numbers too high or too low, is a matter of little moment. Such is the strength with which 10 population shoots in that part of the world, that state the numbers as high as we will, whilst the dispute continues, the exaggeration ends. Whilst we are discussing any given magnitude, they are grown to it. Whilst we spend our time in deliberating on the mode of governing two millions, we 15 shall find we have millions more to manage. Your children do not grow faster from infancy to manhood, than they spread from families to communities, and from villages to nations.<sup>1</sup>

I put this consideration of the present and the growing 20 numbers in the front of our deliberation ; because, Sir, this consideration will make it evident to a blunter discernment than yours, that no partial, narrow, contracted, pinched, occasional system will be at all suitable to such an object. It will show you, that it is not to be considered as one of those 25 *minima*<sup>2</sup> which are out of the eye and consideration of the law ; not a paltry excrescence of the state ; not a mean dependent, who may be neglected with little damage, and provoked with little danger. It will prove that some degree of care and caution is required in the handling such an object ; 30 it will show that you ought not, in reason, to trifle with so

large a mass of the interests and feelings of the human race. You could at no time do so without guilt; and be assured you will not be able to do it long with impunity.

But the population of this country, the great and growing 5 population, though a very important consideration, will lose much of its weight, if not combined with other circumstances. The commerce of your colonies is out of all proportion beyond the numbers of the people. This ground of their commerce indeed has been trod some days ago, and with great 10 ability, by a distinguished person,<sup>1</sup> at your bar. This gentleman, after thirty-five years—it is so long since he first appeared at the same place to plead for the commerce of Great Britain—has come again before you to plead the same cause, without any other effect of time, than, that to 15 the fire of imagination and extent of erudition, which even then marked him as one of the first literary characters of his age, he has added a consummate knowledge in the commercial interest of his country, formed by a long course of enlightened and discriminating experience.

20 Sir, I should be inexcusable in coming after such a person with any detail, if a great part of the members who now fill the House had not the misfortune to be absent when he appeared at your bar. Besides, Sir, I propose to take the matter at periods of time somewhat different from his.

25 There is, if I mistake not, a point of view, from whence if you will look at this subject, it is impossible that it should not make an impression upon you.

I have in my hand two accounts; one a comparative state of the export trade of England to its colonies, as it stood in 30 the year 1704, and as it stood in the year 1772. The other a state of the export trade of this country to its colonies

alone, as it stood in 1772, compared with the whole trade of England to all parts of the world (the colonies included) in the year 1704. They are from good vouchers ; the latter period from the accounts on your table, the earlier from an original manuscript of Davenant, who first established the 5 inspector-general's office, which has been ever since his time so abundant a source of parliamentary information.

The export trade to the colonies consists of three great branches. The African, which, terminating almost wholly in the colonies, must be put to the account of their commerce ;<sup>1</sup> the West Indian ;<sup>2</sup> and the North American. All these are so interwoven, that the attempt to separate them, would tear to pieces the contexture of the whole ; and if not entirely destroy, would very much depreciate the value of all the parts. I therefore consider these three denominations to be, what in effect they are, one trade. 15

The trade to the colonies, taken on the export side, at the beginning of this century, that is, in the year 1704, stood thus :

Exports to North America, and the West Indies	£483,265	20
To Africa	86,665	
	£569,930	

In the year 1772, which I take as a middle year between the highest and lowest of those lately laid on your table, the account was as follows : 25

To North America, and the West Indies	£4,791,734	
To Africa	866,398	
To which if you add the export trade from Scotland, which had in 1704 no existence	364,000	
	£6,022,132	30

From five hundred and odd thousand, it has grown to six millions. It has increased no less than twelve-fold. This is the state of the colony trade, as compared with itself at these two periods, within this century ;—and this is matter for meditation. But this is not all. Examine my second account. See how the export trade to the colonies alone in 1772 stood in the other point of view, that is, as compared to the whole trade of England in 1704.

	The whole export trade of England, including that to	
10	the colonies, in 1704 . . . . .	£6,509,000
	Export to the colonies alone, in 1772 . . . . .	6,024,000
	Difference	£485,000

The trade with America alone is now within less than £500,000 of being equal to what this great commercial nation, England, carried on at the beginning of this century with the whole world ! If I had taken the largest year of those on your table, it would rather have exceeded. But, it will be said, is not this American trade an unnatural protuberance, that has drawn the juices from the rest of the body ? The reverse. It is the very food that has nourished every other part into its present magnitude. Our general trade has been greatly augmented, and augmented more or less in almost every part to which it ever extended ; but with this material difference, that of the six millions which in the beginning of the century constituted the whole mass of our export commerce, the colony trade was but one-twelfth part ; it is now (as a part of sixteen millions) considerably more than a third of the whole. This is the relative proportion of the importance of the colonies at these two periods : and all reasoning concerning our mode of treating them

must have this proportion as its basis, or it is a reasoning weak, rotten, and sophistical.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Speaker, I cannot prevail on myself to hurry over this great consideration. It is good for us to be here. We stand where we have an immense view of what is, and what is past. Clouds, indeed, and darkness rest upon the future. Let us, however, before we descend from this noble eminence, reflect that this growth of our national prosperity has happened within the short period of the life of man. It has happened within sixty-eight years. There are those alive whose memory might touch the two extremities. For instance, my Lord Bathurst might remember all the stages of the progress. He was in 1704 of an age at least to be made to comprehend such things. He was then old enough *acta parentum jam legere, et quæ sit poterit cognoscere virtus*<sup>2</sup>—Suppose, Sir, that the angel of this auspicious youth, foreseeing the many virtues, which made him one of the most amiable, as he is one of the most fortunate, men of his age, had opened to him in vision, that when, in the fourth generation, the third prince of the House of Brunswick had sat twelve years on the throne of that nation, which (by the happy issue of moderate and healing councils) was to be made Great Britain, he should see his son,<sup>3</sup> Lord Chancellor of England, turn back the current of hereditary dignity to its fountain, and raise him to a higher rank of peerage, whilst he enriched the family with a new one—If amidst these bright and happy scenes of domestic honour and prosperity, that angel should have drawn up the curtain, and unfolded the rising glories of his country, and whilst he was gazing with admiration on the then commercial grandeur of England, the genius should point out to him a little speck, scarce visible in the mass of

the national interest, a small seminal principle, rather than a formed body, and should tell him—"Young man, there is America—which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men, and uncouth manners ;  
5 yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world. Whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing  
10 settlements in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added to her by America in the course of a single life ! " If this state of his country had been foretold to him, would it not require all the sanguine credulity of youth, and all the fervid glow of enthusiasm, to make him  
15 believe it ? Fortunate man, he has lived to see it ! Fortunate indeed, if he lives to see nothing that shall vary the prospect, and cloud the setting of his day !<sup>1</sup>

Excuse me, Sir, if turning from such thoughts I resume this comparative view once more. You have seen it on a  
20 large scale ; look at it on a small one. I will point out to your attention a particular instance of it in the single province of Pennsylvania. In the year 1704, that province called for £11,459 in value of your commodities, native and foreign. This was the whole. What did it demand in  
25 1772 ? Why nearly fifty times as much ; for in that year the export to Pennsylvania was £507,909, nearly equal to the export to all the colonies together in the first period.

I choose, Sir, to enter into these minute and particular details ; because generalities, which in all other cases are  
30 apt to heighten and raise the subject, have here a tendency to sink it. When we speak of the commerce with our colo-

nies, fiction lags after truth ; invention is unfruitful, and imagination cold and barren.

So far, Sir, as to the importance of the object in view of its commerce, as concerned in the exports from England. If I were to detail the imports, I could show how many 5 enjoyments they procure, which deceive the burthen of life ; how many materials which invigorate the springs of national industry, and extend and animate every part of our foreign and domestic commerce. This would be a curious subject indeed — but I must prescribe bounds to myself in a matter 10 so vast and various.

I pass therefore to the colonies in another point of view, their agriculture. This they have prosecuted with such a spirit, that, besides feeding plentifully their own growing multitude, their annual export of grain, comprehending rice, 15 has some years ago exceeded a million in value. Of their last harvest, I am persuaded they will export much more. At the beginning of the century some of these colonies imported corn from the mother country. For some time past, the Old World has been fed from the New. The 20 scarcity which you have felt would have been a desolating famine, if this child of your old age, with a true filial piety, with a Roman charity,<sup>1</sup> had not put the full breast of its youthful exuberance to the mouth of its exhausted parent.

As to the wealth which the colonies have drawn from the 25 sea by their fisheries, you had all that matter fully opened at your bar. You surely thought these acquisitions of value, for they seemed even to excite your envy ; and yet the spirit by which that enterprising employment has been exercised, ought rather, in my opinion, to have raised your esteem and 30 admiration. And pray, Sir, what in the world is equal to it ?

Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest 5 frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits, whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south.<sup>1</sup> Falkland Island,<sup>2</sup> which seemed too 10 remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them, than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that whilst some of them draw the 15 line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the 20 dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood. When I contemplate these 25 things; when I know that the colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government, but that, through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take her own 30 way to perfection; when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable they have been to us, I feel all the pride

of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt and die away within me. My rigour relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty.<sup>1</sup>

I am sensible, Sir, that all which I have asserted in my detail, is admitted in the gross; but that quite a different conclusion is drawn from it. America, gentlemen say, is a noble object. It is an object well worth fighting for. Certainly it is, if fighting a people be the best way of gaining them. Gentlemen in this respect will be led to their choice of means by their complexions and their habits. Those who understand the military art, will of course have some predilection for it. Those who wield the thunder of the state, may have more confidence in the efficacy of arms. But I confess, possibly for want of this knowledge, my opinion is much more in favour of prudent management, than of force; considering force not as an odious, but a feeble instrument, for preserving a people so numerous, so active, so growing, so spirited as this, in a profitable and subordinate connexion with us.

First, Sir, permit me to observe, that the use of force <sup>20</sup> alone is but *temporary*. It may subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again: and a nation is not governed, which is perpetually to be conquered.

My next objection is its *uncertainty*. Terror is not <sup>25</sup> always the effect of force; and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource; for, conciliation failing, force remains; but, force failing, no furthur hope of reconciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness; but they can never be <sup>30</sup> begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence.

A further objection to force is, that you *injuria* the object by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover; but depreciated, sunk, wasted, and consumed in the contest. Nothing 5 less will content me, than *whole America*. I do not choose to consume its strength along with our own; because in all parts it is the British strength that I consume. I do not choose to be caught by a foreign enemy at the end of this exhausting conflict; and still less in the midst of it. I may 10 escape; but I can make no insurance against such an event. Let me add, that I do not choose wholly to break the American spirit; because it is the spirit that has made the country.

Lastly, we have no sort of *experience* in favour of force 15 as an instrument in the rule of our colonies. Their growth and their utility has been owing to methods altogether different. Our ancient indulgence has been said to be pursued to a fault. It may be so. But we know if feeling is evidence, that our fault was more tolerable than our 20 attempt to mend it; and our sin far more salutary than our penitence.

These, Sir, are my reasons for not entertaining that high 25 opinion of untried force, by which many gentlemen, for whose sentiments in other particulars I have great respect, seem to be so greatly captivated. But there is still behind a third consideration concerning this object, which serves to determine my opinion on the sort of policy which ought to be pursued in the management of America, even more than its population and its commerce, I mean its *temper and 30 character*.<sup>1</sup>

In this character of the Americans, a love of freedom is

the predominating feature which marks and distinguishes the whole: and as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable, whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force, or shuffle from them by chicane, what they think the only advantage worth living for. This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies probably than in any other people of the earth; and this from a great variety of powerful causes; which, to understand the true temper of their minds, and the direction which this spirit takes, it will not be amiss to lay open somewhat more largely.<sup>1</sup>

First, the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen. England, Sir, is a nation, which still I hope respects, and formerly adored, her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant; and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are therefore not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas, and on English principles. Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. Liberty inheres in some sensible object; and every nation has formed to itself some favourite point, which by way of eminence becomes the criterion of their happiness. It happened, you know, Sir, that the great contests for freedom in this country were from the earliest times chiefly upon the question of taxing. Most of the contests in the ancient commonwealths turned primarily on the right of election of magistrates; or on the balance among the several orders of the state. The question of money was not with them so immediate. But in England it was otherwise. On this point of taxes the ablest pens, and most eloquent tongues,

have been exercised ; the greatest spirits have acted and suffered. In order to give the fullest satisfaction concerning the importance of this point, it was not only necessary for those who in argument defended the excellence of the  
5 English constitution, to insist on this privilege of granting money as a dry point of fact, and to prove, that the right had been acknowledged in ancient parchments, and blind usages, to reside in a certain body called a House of Commons. They went much farther ; they attempted to prove,  
10 and they succeeded, that in theory it ought to be so, from the particular nature of a House of Commons, as an immediate representative of the people ; whether the old records had delivered this oracle or not. They took infinite pains to inculcate, as a fundamental principle, that in all mon-  
15 archies the people must in effect themselves, mediately or immediately, possess the power of granting their own money, or no shadow of liberty could subsist. The colonies draw from you, as with their life-blood, these ideas and principles. Their love of liberty, as with you, fixed and attached on  
20 this specific point of taxing. Liberty might be safe, or might be endangered, in twenty other particulars, without their being much pleased or alarmed. Here they felt its pulse ; and as they found that beat, they thought themselves sick or sound. I do not say whether they were right  
25 or wrong in applying your general arguments to their own case. It is not easy indeed to make a monopoly of theorems and corollaries. The fact is, that they did thus apply those general arguments ; and your mode of governing them, whether through lenity or indolence, through wisdom  
30 or mistake, confirmed them in the imagination, that they, as well as you, had an interest in these common principles.<sup>1</sup>

They were further confirmed in this pleasing error by the form of their provincial legislative assemblies. Their governments are popular in a high degree ; some are merely popular ; in all, the popular representative is the most weighty ; and this share of the people in their ordinary government never fails to inspire them with lofty sentiments, and with a strong aversion from whatever tends to deprive them of their chief importance. 5

If anything were wanting to this necessary operation of the form of government, religion would have given it a complete effect. Religion, always a principle of energy, in this new people is no way worn out or impaired ; and their mode of professing it is also one main cause of this free spirit.<sup>1</sup> The people are Protestants ; and of that kind which is the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion. 15 This is a persuasion not only favourable to liberty, but built upon it. I do not think, Sir, that the reason of this averseness in the dissenting churches, from all that looks like absolute government, is so much to be sought in their religious tenets, as in their history. Every one knows that the 20 Roman Catholic religion is at least coeval with most of the governments where it prevails ; that it has generally gone hand in hand with them, and received great favour and every kind of support from authority. The Church of England too was formed from her cradle under the nursing care 25 of regular government. But the dissenting interests have sprung up in direct opposition to all the ordinary powers of the world ; and could justify that opposition only on a strong claim to natural liberty. Their very existence depended on the powerful and unremitting assertion of that claim. All 30 Protestantism, even the most cold and passive, is a sort of

dissent. But the religion most prevalent in our northern colonies is a refinement on the principle of resistance; it is the dissidence of dissent, and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion.<sup>1</sup> This religion, under a variety of denominations agreeing in nothing but in the communion of the spirit of liberty, is predominant in most of the northern provinces; where the Church of England, notwithstanding its legal rights, is in reality no more than a sort of private sect, not composing most probably the tenth of the people. The colonists left England when this spirit was high, and in the emigrants was the highest of all; and even that stream of foreigners, which has been constantly flowing into these colonies, has, for the greatest part, been composed of dissenters from the establishments of their several countries, and have brought with them a temper and character far from alien to that of the people with whom they mixed.

Sir, I can perceive by their manner, that some gentlemen object to the latitude of this description; because in the southern colonies the Church of England forms a large body, and has a regular establishment. It is certainly true. There is, however, a circumstance attending these colonies, which, in my opinion, fully counterbalances this difference, and makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty than in those to the northward. It is, that in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free, are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there, that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with

great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks, amongst them, like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean, Sir, to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it ; but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so ; and 5 these people of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty, than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths ; such were our Gothic ancestors ; such in our days were the Poles ;<sup>1</sup> and such will be all masters of 10 slaves, who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible.

Permit me, Sir, to add another circumstance in our colonies, which contributes no mean part towards the growth 15 and effect of this untractable spirit. I mean their education.<sup>2</sup> In no country perhaps in the world is the law so general a study.<sup>3</sup> The profession itself is numerous and powerful ; and in most provinces it takes the lead. The greater number of the deputies sent to the congress were lawyers. But all who 20 read, and most do read, endeavour to obtain some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller, that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen 25 into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries in America as in England. General Gage marks out this disposition very particularly in a letter on your table. He states, that all the people in his government are 30 lawyers, or smatterers in law ; and that in Boston they have

been enabled, by successful chicane, wholly to evade many parts of one of your capital penal constitutions.<sup>1</sup> The smartness of debate will say, that this knowledge ought to teach them more clearly the rights of legislature, their obligations to obedience, and the penalties of rebellion. All this is mighty well. But my honourable and learned friend<sup>2</sup> on the floor, who condescends to mark what I say for animadversion, will disdain that ground. He has heard, as well as I, that when great honours and great emoluments do not win over this knowledge to the service of the state, it is a formidable adversary to government. If the spirit be not tamed and broken by these happy methods, it is stubborn and litigious. *Abeunt studia in mores.*<sup>3</sup> This study renders men acute, inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in attack, ready in defence, full of resources. In other countries, the people, more simple, and of a less mercurial cast, judge of an ill principle in government only by an actual grievance ; here they anticipate the evil, and judge of the pressure of the grievance by the badness of the principle. They augur misgovernment at a distance ; and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.

The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest, as it is not merely moral, but laid deep in the natural constitution of things. Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them. No contrivance can prevent the effect of this distance in weakening government. Seas roll, and months pass, between the order and the execution ; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system. You have, indeed, winged ministers of vengeance,<sup>4</sup> who carry your bolts in their pounces to the remotest verge of the sea. But

there a power steps in, that limits the arrogance of raging passions and furious elements, and says, "So far shalt thou go, and no farther." Who are you, that should fret and rage, and bite the chains of nature?— Nothing worse happens to you than does to all nations who have extensive empire; 5 and it happens in all the forms into which empire can be thrown. In large bodies, the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt, and Arabia, and Kurdistan, as he governs Thrace; nor has he the same dominion in Crimea 10 and Algiers, which he has at Brusa and Smyrna. Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huckster. The Sultan gets such obedience as he can. He governs with a loose rein, that he may govern at all; and the whole of the force and vigour of his authority in his centre is derived from a prudent relaxation in all his borders. Spain, in her provinces, is, perhaps, 15 not so well obeyed as you are in yours. She complies too; she submits; she watches times. This is the immutable condition, the eternal law, of extensive and detached empire.<sup>1</sup>

Then, Sir, from these six capital sources; of descent; of 20 form of government; of religion in the northern provinces; of manners in the southern; of education; of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government; from all these causes a fierce spirit of liberty has grown up. It has grown with the growth of the people in your colonies, 25 and increased with the increase of their wealth; a spirit, that unhappily meeting with an exercise of power in England, which, however lawful, is not reconcilable to any ideas of liberty, much less with theirs, has kindled this flame that is ready to consume us.

30 I do not mean to commend either the spirit in this excess,

or the moral causes which produce it. Perhaps a more smooth and accommodating spirit of freedom in them would be more acceptable to us. Perhaps ideas of liberty might be desired, more reconcilable with an arbitrary and boundless authority. Perhaps we might wish the colonists to be persuaded, that their liberty is more secure when held in trust for them by us (as their guardians during a perpetual minority) than with any part of it in their own hands. The question is, not whether their spirit deserves praise or blame, but—what, in the name of God, shall we do with it? You have before you the object, such as it is, with all its glories, with all its imperfections on its head.<sup>1</sup> You see the magnitude; the importance; the temper; the habits; the disorders. By all these considerations we are strongly urged to determine something concerning it. We are called upon to fix some rule and line for our future conduct, which may give a little stability to our politics, and prevent the return of such unhappy deliberations as the present. Every such return will bring the matter before us in a still more untractable form. For, what astonishing and incredible things have we not seen already! What monsters have not been generated from this unnatural contention! Whilst every principal of authority and resistance has been pushed, upon both sides, as far as it would go, there is nothing so solid and certain, either in reasoning or in practice, that has not been shaken. Until very lately, all authority in America seemed to be nothing but an emanation from yours. Even the popular part of the colony constitution derived all its activity, and its first vital movement, from the pleasure of the crown. We thought, Sir, that the utmost which the discontented colonists could do, was to disturb authority; we

never dreamt they could of themselves supply it ; knowing in general what an operose business it is to establish a government absolutely new. But having, for our purposes in this contention, resolved, that none but an obedient assembly should sit ; the humours of the people there, finding all passage through the legal channel stopped, with great violence broke out another way. Some provinces have tried their experiment, as we have tried ours ; and theirs has succeeded. They have formed a government sufficient for its purposes, without the bustle of a revolution, or the troublesome formality of an election. Evident necessity, and tacit consent, have done the business in an instant. So well they have done it, that Lord Dunmore (the account is among the fragments on your table) tells you, that the new institution is infinitely better obeyed than the ancient government ever was in its most fortunate periods. Obedience is what makes government, and not the names by which it is called ; not the name of governor, as formerly, or committee, as at present. This new government has originated directly from the people ; and was not transmitted through any of the ordinary artificial media of a positive constitution. It was not a manufacture ready formed, and transmitted to them in that condition from England. The evil arising from hence is this ; that the colonists having once found the possibility of enjoying the advantages of order in the midst of a struggle for liberty, such struggles will not henceforward seem so terrible to the settled and sober part of mankind as they had appeared before the trial.

Pursuing the same plan of punishing by the denial of the exercise of government to still greater lengths, we wholly abrogated the ancient government of Massachusetts. We

were confident that the first feeling, if not the very prospect of anarchy, would instantly enforce a complete submission. The experiment was tried. A new, strange, unexpected face of things appeared. Anarchy is found tolerable. A 5 vast province has now subsisted, and subsisted in a considerable degree of health and vigour, for near a twelvemonth, without governor, without public council, without judges, without executive magistrates. How long it will continue in this state, or what may arise out of this unheard-of situation, how can the wisest of us conjecture? Our late experience has taught us that many of these fundamental principles, formerly believed infallible, are either not of the importance they were imagined to be; or that we have not at all adverted to some other far more important and far 10 15 more powerful principles, which entirely overrule those we had considered as omnipotent. I am much against any further experiments, which tend to put to the proof any more of these allowed opinions, which contribute so much to the public tranquillity. In effect, we suffer as much at home 20 by this loosening of all ties, and this concussion of all established opinions, as we do abroad. For, in order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties, we are every day endeavouring to subvert the maxims which preserve the whole spirit of our own. To prove that the Americans 25 ought not to be free, we are obliged to depreciate the value of freedom itself; and we never seem to gain a paltry advantage over them in debate, without attacking some of those principles, or deriding some of those feelings, for which our ancestors have shed their blood.

30 But, Sir, in wishing to put an end to pernicious experiments, I do not mean to preclude the fullest inquiry. Far

from it. Far from deciding on a sudden or partial view, I would patiently go round and round the subject, and survey it minutely in every possible aspect. Sir, if I were capable of engaging you to an equal attention, I would state, that, as far as I am capable of discerning, there are but three ways 5 of proceeding relative to this stubborn spirit, which prevails in your colonies, and disturbs your government. These are — To change that spirit, as inconvenient, by removing the causes. To prosecute it as criminal. Or, to comply with it as necessary. I would not be guilty of an imperfect enumeration ; I can think of but these three. Another has indeed been started, that of giving up the colonies ; but it met so slight a reception, that I do not think myself obliged to dwell a great while upon it. It is nothing but a little sally of anger, like the frowardness of peevish children, who, when 15 they cannot get all they would have, are resolved to take nothing.

The first of these plans, to change the spirit as inconvenient, by removing the causes, I think is the most like a systematic proceeding. It is radical in its principle ; but it 20 is attended with great difficulties, some of them little short, as I conceive, of impossibilities. This will appear by examining into the plans which have been proposed.

As the growing population in the colonies is evidently one cause of their resistance, it was last session mentioned in both 25 Houses, by men of weight, and received not without applause, that in order to check this evil, it would be proper for the crown to make no further grants of land. But to this scheme there are two objections. The first, that there is already so much unsettled land in private hands, as to afford room for 30 an immense future population, although the crown not only

withheld its grants, but annihilated its soil. If this be the case, then the only effect of this avarice of desolation, this hoarding of a royal wilderness, would be to raise the value of the possessions in the hands of the great private monopolists, without any adequate check to the growing and alarming mischief of population.

But if you stopped your grants, what would be the consequence? The people would occupy without grants. They have already so occupied in many places. You cannot 5 station garrisons in every part of these deserts. If you drive the people from one place, they will carry on their annual tillage, and remove with their flocks and herds to another. Many of the people in the back settlements are already little attached to particular situations. Already they 10 have topped the Appalachian mountains. From thence they behold before them an immense plain, one vast, rich, level meadow; a square of five hundred miles. Over this they would wander without a possibility of restraint; they would change their manners with the habits of their life; would 15 soon forget a government by which they were disowned; would become hordes of English Tartars; and pouring down upon your unfortified frontiers a fierce and irresistible cavalry, become masters of your governors and your counsellors, your collectors and comptrollers, and of all the slaves 20 that adhered to them. Such would, and, in no long time, must be, the effect of attempting to forbid as a crime, and to suppress as an evil, the command and blessing of Providence, "Increase and multiply." Such would be the happy result 25 of an endeavour to keep as a lair of wild beasts, that earth, 30 which God, by an express charter, has given to the children of men. Far different, and surely much wiser, has been our

policy hitherto. Hitherto we have invited our people, by every kind of bounty, to fixed establishments. We have invited the husbandman to look to authority for his title. We have taught him piously to believe in the mysterious virtue of wax and parchment. We have thrown each tract of land, 5 as it was peopled, into districts ; that the ruling power should never be wholly out of sight. We have settled all we could ; and we have carefully attended every settlement with government.

Adhering, Sir, as I do, to this policy, as well as for the 10 reasons I have just given, I think this new project of hedging-in population to be neither prudent nor practicable.

To impoverish the colonies in general, and in particular to arrest the noble course of their marine enterprises, would be a more easy task. I freely confess it. We have shown a 15 disposition to a system of this kind ; a disposition even to continue the restraint after the offence ; looking on ourselves as rivals to our colonies, and persuaded that of course we must gain all that they shall lose. Much mischief we may certainly do. The power inadequate to all other things is 20 often more than sufficient for this. I do not look on the direct and immediate power of the colonies to resist our violence as very formidable. In this, however, I may be mistaken. But when I consider, that we have colonies for no purpose but to be serviceable to us, it seems to my poor 25 understanding a little preposterous, to make them unserviceable, in order to keep them obedient. It is, in truth, nothing more than the old, and, as I thought, exploded problem of tyranny, which proposes to beggar its subjects into submission. But remember, when you have completed your 30 system of impoverishment, that nature still proceeds in her

ordinary course ; that discontent will increase with misery ; and that there are critical moments in the fortune of all states, when they who are too weak to contribute to your prosperity, may be strong enough to complete your ruin.

5 *Spoliatis arma supersunt.*<sup>1</sup>

The temper and character which prevail in our colonies are, I am afraid, unalterable by any human art. We cannot, I fear, falsify the pedigree of this fierce people, and persuade them that they are not sprung from a nation in whose veins 10 the blood of freedom circulates. The language in which they would hear you tell them this tale would detect the imposition ; your speech would betray you. An Englishman is the unfittest person on earth to argue another Englishman into slavery.

15 I think it is nearly as little in our power to change their republican religion, as their free descent ; or to substitute the Roman Catholic, as a penalty ; or the Church of England, as an improvement. The mode of inquisition and dragooning is going out of fashion in the Old World ; and I should 20 not confide much to their efficacy in the New. The education of the Americans is also on the same unalterable bottom with their religion. You cannot persuade them to burn their books of curious science ; to banish their lawyers from their courts of laws ; or to quench the lights of their 25 assemblies, by refusing to choose those persons who are best read in their privileges. It would be no less impracticable to think of wholly annihilating the popular assemblies, in which these lawyers sit. The army, by which we must govern in their place, would be far more chargeable to us ; not quite 30 so effectual ; and perhaps, in the end, full as difficult to be kept in obedience.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the high aristocratic spirit of Virginia and the southern colonies, it has been proposed, I know, to reduce it, by declaring a general enfranchisement of their slaves. This project has had its advocates and panegyrists ; yet I never could argue myself into any opinion of it. Slaves 5 are often much attached to their masters. A general wild offer of liberty would not always be accepted. History furnishes few instances of it. It is sometimes as hard to persuade slaves to be free, as it is to compel freemen to be slaves ; and in this auspicious scheme, we should have both these 10 pleasing tasks on our hands at once. But when we talk of enfranchisement, do we not perceive that the American master may enfranchise too ; and arm servile hands in defence of freedom ? A measure to which other people have had recourse more than once, and not without success, in a 15 desperate situation of their affairs.

Slaves as these unfortunate black people are, and dull as all men are from slavery, must they not a little suspect the offer of freedom from that very nation which has sold them to their present masters ? from that nation, one of whose 20 causes of quarrel with those masters is their refusal to deal any more in that inhuman traffic ? An offer of freedom from England would come rather oddly, shipped to them in an African vessel, which is refused an entry into the ports of Virginia or Carolina, with a cargo of three Angola negroes. 25 It would be curious to see the Guinea captain attempting at the same instant to publish his proclamation of liberty, and to advertise his sale of slaves.

But let us suppose all these moral difficulties got over. The ocean remains. You cannot pump this dry ; and as 30 long as it continues in its present bed, so long all the causes

which weaken authority by distance will continue. "Ye gods, annihilate but space and time, and make two lovers happy!"<sup>1</sup> — was a pious and passionate prayer; — but just as reasonable, as many of the serious wishes of very grave and solemn politicians.

If then, Sir, it seems almost desperate to think of any alternative course, for changing the moral causes (and not quite easy to remove the natural) which produce prejudices irreconcilable to the late exercise of our authority; but that the spirit infallibly will continue; and, continuing, will produce such effects as now embarrass us; the second mode under consideration is, to prosecute that spirit in its overt acts, *as criminal*.

At this proposition I must pause a moment. The thing seems a great deal too big for my ideas of jurisprudence. It should seem to my way of conceiving such matters, that there is a very wide difference in reason and policy, between the mode of proceeding on their regular conduct of scattered individuals, or even of bands of men, who disturb order within the state, and the civil dissensions which may, from time to time, on great questions, agitate the several communities which compose a great empire. It looks to me to be narrow and pedantic, to apply the ordinary ideas of criminal justice to this great public contest. I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people. I cannot insult and ridicule the feelings of millions of my fellow-creatures, as Sir Edward Coke insulted one excellent individual (Sir Walter Raleigh) at the bar.<sup>2</sup> I hope I am not ripe to pass sentence on the gravest public bodies, intrusted with magistracies of great authority and dignity, and charged with the safety of their fellow-citizens, upon the

very same title that I am. I really think, that for wise men this is not judicious ; for sober men, not decent ; for minds tinctured with humanity, not mild and merciful.

Perhaps, Sir, I am mistaken in my idea of an empire, as distinguished from a single state or kingdom. But my idea of it is this ; that an empire is the aggregate of many states under one common head ; whether this head be a monarch, or a presiding republic. It does, in such constitutions, frequently happen (and nothing but the dismal, cold, dead uniformity of servitude can prevent its happening) that the subordinate parts may have many local privileges and immunities. Between these privileges and the supreme common authority the line may be extremely nice. Of course disputes, often, too, very bitter disputes, and much ill blood, will arise. But though every privilege is an exemption (in the case) from the ordinary exercise of the supreme authority, it is no denial of it. The claim of a privilege seems rather, *ex vi termini*,<sup>1</sup> to imply a superior power. For to talk of the privileges of a state, or of a person, who has no superior, is hardly any better than speaking nonsense. Now, in such unfortunate quarrels among the component parts of a great political union of communities, I can scarcely conceive anything more completely imprudent, than for the head of the empire to insist, that, if any privilege is pleaded against his will, or his acts, his whole authority is denied ; instantly to proclaim rebellion, to beat to arms, and to put the offending provinces under the ban. Will not this, Sir, very soon teach the provinces to make no distinctions on their part ? Will it not teach them that the government, against which a claim of liberty is tantamount to high treason, is a government to which submission is equivalent to slavery ? It may not

always be quite convenient to impress dependent communities with such an idea.

We are indeed, in all disputes with the colonies, by the necessity of things, the judge. It is true, Sir. But I confess, that the character of judge in my own cause is a thing that frightens me. Instead of filling me with pride, I am exceedingly humbled by it. I cannot proceed with a stern, assured, judicial confidence, until I find myself in something more like a judicial character. I must have these hesitations as long as I am compelled to recollect, that, in my little reading upon such contests as these, the sense of mankind has, at least, as often decided against the superior as the subordinate power. Sir, let me add too, that the opinion of my having some abstract right in my favour, would not put me much at my ease in passing sentence; unless I could be sure, that there were no rights which, in their exercise under certain circumstances, were not the most odious of all wrongs, and the most vexatious of all injustice. Sir, these considerations have great weight with me, when I find things so circumstanced, that I see the same party, at once a civil litigant against me in point of right, and a culprit before me; while I sit as a criminal judge, on acts of his, whose moral quality is to be decided upon the merits of that very litigation. Men are every now and then put, by the complexity of human affairs, into strange situations; but justice is the same, let the judge be in what situation he will.

There is, Sir, also a circumstance which convinces me, that this mode of criminal proceeding is not (at least in the present stage of our contest) altogether expedient; which is nothing less than the conduct of those very persons who have seemed to adopt that mode, by lately declaring a

rebellion in Massachusetts Bay, as they had formerly addressed to have traitors brought hither, under an act of Henry the Eighth, for trial. For though rebellion is declared, it is not proceeded against as such ; nor have any steps been taken towards the apprehension or conviction of any individual offender, either on our late or our former address ; but modes of public coercion have been adopted, and such as have much more resemblance to a sort of qualified hostility towards an independent power than the punishment of rebellious subjects. All this seems rather inconsistent ; but it shows how difficult it is to apply these juridical ideas to our present case. 10

In this situation, let us seriously and coolly ponder. What is it we have got by all our menaces, which have been many and ferocious ? What advantage have we derived from the 15 penal laws we have passed, and which, for the time, have been severe and numerous ? What advances have we made towards our object, by the sending of a force, which, by land and sea, is no contemptible strength ? Has the disorder abated ? Nothing less. — When I see things in this 20 situation, after such confident hopes, bold promises, and active exertions, I cannot, for my life, avoid a suspicion, that the plan itself is not correctly right.

If then the removal of the causes of this spirit of American liberty be, for the greater part, or rather entirely, impracticable ; if the ideas of criminal process be inapplicable, or if applicable, are in the highest degree inexpedient ; what way yet remains ? No way is open, but the third and last — to comply with the American spirit as necessary ; or, if you please, to submit to it as a necessary evil. 25 30

If we adopt this mode ; if we mean to conciliate and con-

cede ; let us see of what nature the concession ought to be ; to ascertain the nature of our concession, we must look at their complaint. The colonies complain, that they have not the characteristic mark and seal of British freedom.  
5 They complain, that they are taxed in a parliament in which they are not represented. If you mean to satisfy them at all, you must satisfy them with regard to this complaint. If you mean to please any people, you must give them the boon which they ask ; not what you may think better for  
10 them, but of a kind totally different. Such an act may be a wise regulation, but it is no concession : whereas our present theme is the mode of giving satisfaction.

Sir, I think you must perceive, that I am resolved this day to have nothing at all to do with the question of the right of  
15 taxation.<sup>1</sup> Some gentlemen startle — but it is true ; I put it totally out of the question. It is less than nothing in my consideration. I do not indeed wonder, nor will you, Sir, that gentlemen of profound learning are fond of displaying it on this profound subject. But my consideration is narrow, confined, and wholly limited to the policy of the question. I do not examine, whether the giving away a man's money be a power excepted and reserved out of the general trust of government ; and how far all mankind, in all forms of polity, are entitled to an exercise of that right by the  
20 charter of nature. Or whether, on the contrary, a right of taxation is necessarily involved in the general principle of legislation, and inseparable from the ordinary supreme power. These are deep questions, where great names militate against each other ; where reason is perplexed ; and an  
25 appeal to authorities only thickens the confusion. For high and reverend authorities lift up their heads on both sides ;

and there is no sure footing in the middle. This point is the *great Serbonian bog, betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old, where armies whole have sunk.*<sup>1</sup> I do not intend to be overwhelmed in that bog, though in such respectable company. The question with me is, not 5 whether you have a right to render your people miserable ; but whether it is not your interest to make them happy. It is not, what a lawyer tells me I *may* do ; but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do. Is a politic act the worse for being a generous one ? Is no concession 10 proper, but that which is made from your want of right to keep what you grant ? Or does it lessen the grace or dignity of relaxing in the exercise of an odious claim, because you have your evidence-room full of titles, and your magazines stuffed with arms to enforce them ? What signify all 15 those titles, and all those arms ? Of what avail are they, when the reason of the thing tells me, that the assertion of my title is the loss of my suit ; and that I could do nothing but wound myself by the use of my own weapons ?<sup>2</sup>

Such is stedfastly my opinion of the absolute necessity of 20 keeping up the concord of this empire by a unity of spirit, though in a diversity of operations, that, if I were sure the colonists had, at their leaving this country, sealed a regular compact of servitude ; that they had solemnly abjured all the rights of citizens ; that they had made a vow to renounce 25 all ideas of liberty for them and their posterity to all generations ; yet I should hold myself obliged to conform to the temper I found universally prevalent in my own day, and to govern two millions of men, impatient of servitude, on the principles of freedom. I am not determining a point of 30 law ; I am restoring tranquillity ; and the general character

and situation of a people must determine what sort of government is fitted for them. That point nothing else can or ought to determine.

My idea, therefore, without considering whether we yield  
5 as matter of right, or grant as matter of favour, is *to admit the people of our colonies into an interest in the constitution* ; and, by recording that admission in the journals of parliament, to give them as strong an assurance as the nature of the thing will admit, that we mean forever to adhere to that  
10 solemn declaration of systematic indulgence.

Some years ago, the repeal of a revenue act, upon its understood principle, might have served to show, that we intended an unconditional abatement of the exercise of a taxing power. Such a measure was then sufficient to  
15 remove all suspicion, and to give perfect content. But unfortunate events, since that time, may make something further necessary ; and not more necessary for the satisfaction of the colonies, than for the dignity and consistency of our own future proceedings.

20 I have taken a very incorrect measure of the disposition of the House, if this proposal in itself would be received with dislike. I think, Sir, we have few American financiers. But our misfortune is, we are too acute ; we are too exquisite in our conjectures of the future, for men oppressed with  
25 such great and present evils. The more moderate among the opposers of parliamentary concession freely confess, that they hope no good from taxation ; but they apprehend the colonists have further views ; and if this point were conceded, they would instantly attack the trade laws.  
30 These gentlemen are convinced, that this was the intention from the beginning ; and the quarrel of the Americans with

taxation was no more than a cloak and cover to this design. Such has been the language even of a gentleman<sup>1</sup> of real moderation, and of a natural temper well adjusted to fair and equal government. I am, however, Sir, not a little surprised at this kind of discourse, whenever I hear it ; and I am the more surprised, on account of the arguments which I constantly find in company with it, and which are often urged from the same mouths, and on the same day. 5

For instance, when we allege, that it is against reason to tax a people under so many restraints in trade as the Americans, the noble lord<sup>1</sup> in the blue riband shall tell you, that the restraints on trade are futile and useless ; of no advantage to us, and of no burthen to those on whom they are imposed ; that the trade to America is not secured by the acts of navigation, but by the natural and irresistible advantage of a commercial preference. 10 15

Such is the merit of the trade laws in this posture of the debate. But when strong internal circumstances are urged against the taxes ; when the scheme is dissected ; when experience and the nature of things are brought to prove, and 20 do prove, the utter impossibility of obtaining an effective revenue from the colonies ; when these things are pressed, or rather press themselves, so as to drive the advocates of colony taxes to a clear admission of the futility of the scheme ; then, Sir, the sleeping trade laws revive from their 25 trance ; and this useless taxation is to be kept sacred, not for its own sake, but as a counter-guard and security of the laws of trade.

Then, Sir, you keep up revenue laws which are mischievous, in order to preserve trade laws that are useless. Such is the 30 wisdom of our plan in both its members. They are sepa-

rately given up as of no value ; and yet one is always to be defended for the sake of the other. But I cannot agree with the noble lord, nor with the pamphlet from whence he seems to have borrowed these ideas,<sup>1</sup> concerning the inutility of the trade laws. For, without idolizing them, I am sure they are still, in many ways, of great use to us : and in former times they have been of the greatest. They do confine, and they do greatly narrow, the market for the Americans. But my perfect conviction of this does not help me in the least to discern how the revenue laws form any security whatsoever to the commercial regulations ; or that these commercial regulations are the true ground of the quarrel ; or that the giving way, in any one instance of authority, is to lose all that may remain unconceded.

One fact is clear and indisputable. The public and avowed origin of this quarrel was on taxation. This quarrel has indeed brought on new disputes on new questions ; but certainly the least bitter, and the fewest of all, on the trade laws. To judge which of the two be the real, radical cause of quarrel, we have to see whether the commercial dispute did, in order of time, precede the dispute on taxation ? There is not a shadow of evidence for it. Next, to enable us to judge whether at this moment a dislike to the trade laws be the real cause of quarrel, it is absolutely necessary to put the taxes out of the question by a repeal. See how the Americans act in this position, and then you will be able to discern correctly what is the true object of the controversy, or whether any controversy at all will remain. Unless you consent to remove this cause of difference, it is impossible, with decency, to assert that the dispute is not upon what it is avowed to be. And I would, Sir, recommend to

your serious consideration, whether it be prudent to form a rule for punishing people, not on their own acts, but on your conjectures? Surely it is preposterous at the very best. It is not justifying your anger, by their misconduct; but it is converting your ill-will into their delinquency.

5

But the colonies will go further. — Alas! alas! when will this speculating against fact and reason end? — What will quiet these panic fears which we entertain of the hostile effect of a conciliatory conduct? Is it true, that no case can exist, in which it is proper for the sovereign to accede to 10 the desires of his discontented subjects? Is there anything peculiar in this case, to make a rule for itself? Is all authority of course lost, when it is not pushed to the extreme? Is it a certain maxim, that the fewer causes of dissatisfaction are left by government, the more the subject will be inclined 15 to resist and rebel?

All these objections being in fact no more than suspicions, conjectures, divinations, formed in defiance of fact and experience; they did not, Sir, discourage me from entertaining the idea of a conciliatory concession, founded on the 20 principles which I have just stated.

In forming a plan for this purpose, I endeavoured to put myself in that frame of mind which was the most natural, and the most reasonable; and which was certainly the most probable means of securing me from all error. I set out 25 with a perfect distrust of my own abilities; a total renunciation of every speculation of my own; and with a profound reverence for the wisdom of our ancestors, who have left us the inheritance of so happy a constitution, and so flourishing an empire, and what is a thousand times more 30 valuable, the treasury of the maxims and principles which formed the one, and obtained the other.

During the reigns of the kings of Spain of the Austrian family, whenever they were at a loss in the Spanish councils, it was common for their statesmen to say, that they ought to consult the genius of Philip the Second. The genius of 5 Philip the Second might mislead them; and the issue of their affairs showed, that they had not chosen the most perfect standard. But, Sir, I am sure that I shall not be misled, when, in a case of constitutional difficulty, I consult the genius of the English constitution. Consulting at that 10 oracle (it was with all due humility and piety) I found four capital examples in a similar case before me; those of Ireland, Wales, Chester, and Durham.

Ireland, before the English conquest, though never governed by a despotic power, had no parliament. How far 15 the English parliament itself was at that time modelled according to the present form, is disputed among antiquarians.<sup>1</sup> But we have all the reason in the world to be assured that a form of parliament, such as England then enjoyed, she instantly communicated to Ireland; and we are equally sure 20 that almost every successive improvement in constitutional liberty, as fast as it was made here, was transmitted thither. The feudal baronage, and the feudal knighthood, the roots of our primitive constitution, were early transplanted into that soil; and grew and flourished there. Magna Charta, 25 if it did not give us originally the House of Commons, gave us at least a House of Commons of weight and consequence. But your ancestors did not churlishly sit down alone to the feast of Magna Charta. Ireland was made immediately a partaker. This benefit of English laws and liberties, I confess, was not at first extended to *all* Ireland. Mark the 30 consequence. English authority and English liberties had

exactly the same boundaries. Your standard could never be advanced an inch before your privileges.<sup>1</sup> Sir John Davis shows beyond a doubt, that the refusal of a general communication of these rights was the true cause why Ireland was five hundred years in subduing ; and after the <sup>5</sup> vain projects of a military government, attempted in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was soon discovered, that nothing could make that country English, in civility and allegiance, but your laws and your forms of legislature. It was not English arms, but the English constitution, that <sup>10</sup> conquered Ireland. From that time, Ireland has ever had a general parliament, as she had before a partial parliament. You changed the people ; you altered the religion ; but you never touched the form or the vital substance of free government in that kingdom. You deposed kings ; you re-<sup>15</sup> stored them ; you altered the succession to theirs, as well as to your own crown ; but you never altered their constitution ; the principle of which was respected by usurpation ; restored with the restoration of monarchy, and established, I trust, for ever, by the glorious Revolution. This has <sup>20</sup> made Ireland the great and flourishing kingdom that it is ; and from a disgrace and a burthen intolerable to this nation, has rendered her a principal part of our strength and ornament. This country cannot be said to have ever formally taxed her. The irregular things done in the confusion of <sup>25</sup> mighty troubles, and on the hinge of great revolutions, even if all were done that is said to have been done, form no example. If they have any effect in argument, they make an exception to prove the rule. None of your own liberties could stand a moment if the casual deviations from them, <sup>30</sup> at such times, were suffered to be used as proofs of their

nullity. By the lucrative amount of such casual breaches in the constitution, judge what the stated and fixed rule of supply has been in that kingdom. Your Irish pensioners would starve if they had no other fund to live on than taxes 5 granted by English authority. Turn your eyes to those popular grants from whence all your great supplies are come; and learn to respect that only source of public wealth in the British empire.

My next example is Wales.<sup>1</sup> This country was said to be 10 reduced by Henry the Third. It was said more truly to be so by Edward the First. But though then conquered, it was not looked upon as any part of the realm of England. Its old constitution, whatever that might have been, was destroyed; and no good one was substituted in its place. 15 The care of that tract was put into the hands of lords marchers—a form of government of a very singular kind; a strange heterogeneous monster, something between hostility and government; perhaps it has a sort of resemblance, according to the modes of those times, to that of commander-in-chief at present, to whom all civil power is granted as secondary. The manners of the Welsh nation followed the genius of the government; the people were ferocious, 20 restive, savage, and uncultivated; sometimes composed, never pacified. Wales, within itself, was in perpetual dis- 25 order; and it kept the frontier of England in perpetual alarm. Benefits from it to the state there were none. Wales was only known to England by incursion and invasion.

Sir, during that state of things, parliament was not idle. 30 They attempted to subdue the fierce spirit of the Welsh by all sorts of rigorous laws. They prohibited by statute the

sending all sorts of arms into Wales, as you prohibit by proclamation (with something more of doubt in the legality) the sending arms to America. They disarmed the Welsh by statute, as you attempted (but still with more question on the legality) to disarm New England by an instruction. 5 They made an act to drag offenders from Wales into England for trial, as you have done (but with more hardship) with regard to America. By another act, where one of the parties was an Englishman, they ordained, that his trial should be always by English. They made acts to restrain trade, as 10 you do ; and they prevented the Welsh from the use of fairs and markets, as you do the Americans from fisheries and foreign ports. In short, when the statute book was not quite so much swelled as it is now, you find no less than fifteen acts of penal regulation on the subject of Wales. 15

Here we rub our hands — A fine body of precedents for the authority of parliament and the use of it ! — I admit it fully ; and pray add likewise to these precedents, that all the while, Wales rid this kingdom like an *incubus* ; that it was an unprofitable and oppressive burthen ; and that an English- 20 man travelling in that country could not go six yards from the high road without being murdered.

The march of the human mind is slow. Sir, it was not, until after two hundred years, discovered, that, by an eternal law, Providence had decreed vexation to violence, and pov- 25 erty to rapine. Your ancestors did however at length open their eyes to the ill husbandry of injustice. They found that the tyranny of a free people could of all tyrannies the least be endured ; and that laws made against a whole nation were not the most effectual methods for securing its obedi- 30 ence. Accordingly, in the twenty-seventh year of Henry

VIII. the course was entirely altered. With a preamble stating the entire and perfect rights of the crown of England, it gave to the Welsh all the rights and privileges of English subjects. A political order was established; the military power gave way to the civil; the marches were turned into counties. But that a nation should have a right to English liberties, and yet no share at all in the fundamental security of these liberties—the grant of their own property—seemed a thing so incongruous, that, eight years after, that is, in the thirty-fifth of that reign, a complete and not ill-proportioned representation by counties and boroughs was bestowed upon Wales, by act of parliament.<sup>1</sup> From that moment, as by a charm, the tumults subsided, obedience was restored, peace, order, and civilization followed in the train of liberty.—When the day-star of the English constitution had arisen in their hearts, all was harmony within and without—

— *Simul alba nautis*  
*Stella refusit,*  
*Defluit axis agitatus humor;*  
*Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,*  
*Et minax (quod sic voluere) ponto*  
*Unda recumbit<sup>2</sup>.*

The very same year the county palatine of Chester received the same relief from its oppressions, and the same remedy to its disorders. Before this time Chester was little less distempered than Wales. The inhabitants, without rights themselves, were the fittest to destroy the rights of others; and from thence Richard II. drew the standing army of archers, with which for a time he oppressed England. The people of Chester applied to parliament in a petition penned as I shall read to you:

“To the king our sovereign lord, in most humble wise shown unto your excellent Majesty, the inhabitants of your Grace’s county palatine of Chester ; That where the said county palatine of Chester is and hath been always hitherto exempt, excluded and separated out and from your high 5 court of parliament, to have any knights and burgesses within the said court ; by reason whereof the said inhabitants have hitherto sustained manifold disherisons, losses, and damages, as well in their lands, goods, and bodies, as in the good, civil, and politic governance and maintenance of the 10 commonwealth of their said country : (2) And forasmuch as the said inhabitants have always hitherto been bound by the acts and statutes made and ordained by your said High-ness, and your most noble progenitors, by authority of the said court, as far forth as other counties, cities, and bor- 15oughs have been, that have had their knights and burgesses within your said court of parliament, and yet have had neither knight ne burgess there for the said county palatine ; the said inhabitants, for lack thereof, have been oftentimes touched and grieved with acts and statutes made within the 20 said court, as well derogatory unto the most ancient jurisdictions, liberties, and privileges of your said county palatine, as prejudicial unto the commonwealth, quietness, rest, and peace of your Grace’s most bounden subjects inhabiting within the same.” 25

What did parliament with this audacious address ? — Reject it as a libel ? Treat it as an affront to government ? Spurn it as a derogation from the rights of legislature ? Did they toss it over the table ? Did they burn it by the hands of the common hangman ? They took the petition 30 of grievance, all rugged as it was, without softening or

temperament, unpurged of the original bitterness and indignation of complaint ; they made it the very preamble to their act of redress ; and consecrated its principle to all ages in the sanctuary of legislation.

5 Here is my third example. It was attended with the success of the two former. Chester, civilized as well as Wales, has demonstrated that freedom, and not servitude, is the cure of anarchy ; as religion, and not atheism, is the true remedy for superstition. Sir, this pattern of Chester  
10 was followed in the reign of Charles II. with regard to the county palatine of Durham, which is my fourth example. This county had long lain out of the pale of free legislation. So scrupulously was the example of Chester followed, that the style of the preamble is nearly the same with that of the  
15 Chester act ; and, without affecting the abstract extent of the authority of parliament, it recognises the equity of not suffering any considerable district, in which the British subjects may act as a body, to be taxed without their own voice in the grant.<sup>1</sup>

20 Now if the doctrines of policy contained in these preambles, and the force of these examples in the acts of parliament, avail anything, what can be said against applying them with regard to America? Are not the people of America as much Englishmen as the Welsh? The preamble of the act of Henry VIII. says, the Welsh speak a language no way resembling that of his Majesty's English subjects. Are the Americans not as numerous? If we may trust the learned and accurate Judge Barrington's account  
25 of North Wales, and take that as a standard to measure the rest, there is no comparison. The people cannot amount to above 200,000 ; not a tenth part of the number in the colo-

30

nies. Is America in rebellion? Wales was hardly ever free from it. Have you attempted to govern America by penal statutes? You made fifteen for Wales. But your legislative authority is perfect with regard to America; was it less perfect in Wales, Chester, and Durham? But America is 5 virtually represented. What! does the electric force of virtual representation more easily pass over the Atlantic, than pervade Wales, which lies in your neighbourhood; or than Chester and Durham, surrounded by abundance of representation that is actual and palpable? But, Sir, your ancestors thought this sort of virtual representation, however ample, to be totally insufficient for the freedom of the inhabitants of territories that are so near, and comparatively so inconsiderable. How then can I think it sufficient for those which are infinitely greater, and infinitely more 10 remote?

You will now, Sir, perhaps imagine, that I am on the point of proposing to you a scheme for a representation of the colonies in parliament. Perhaps I might be inclined to entertain some such thought; but a great flood stops me in 20 my course. *Opposuit natura*—I cannot remove the eternal barriers of the creation. The thing, in that mode, I do not know to be possible. As I meddle with no theory, I do not absolutely assert the impracticability of such a representation. But I do not see my way to it; and those who have 25 been more confident have not been more successful. However, the arm of public benevolence is not shortened; and there are often several means to the same end. What nature has disjoined in one way, wisdom may unite in another. When we cannot give the benefit as we would wish, 30 let us not refuse it altogether. If we cannot give the prin-

cipal, let us find a substitute. But how? Where? What substitute?

Fortunately I am not obliged for the ways and means of this substitute to tax my own unproductive invention. I am 5 not even obliged to go to the rich treasury of the fertile framers of imaginary commonwealths; not to the Republic of Plato; not to the Utopia of More; not to the Oceana of Harrington. It is before me—it is at my feet, *and the rude swain treads daily on it with his clouted shoon.* I only wish 10 you to recognise, for the theory, the ancient constitutional policy of this kingdom with regard to representation, as that policy has been declared in acts of parliament; and, as to the practice, to return to that mode which an uniform experience has marked out to you, as best; and in which you walked 15 with security, advantage, and honour, until the year 1763.

My resolutions therefore mean to establish the equity and justice of a taxation of America, by *grant*, and not by *imposition*. To mark the *legal competency* of the colony assemblies for the support of their government in peace, and for 20 public aids in time of war. To acknowledge that this legal competency has had a *dutiful and beneficial exercise*; and that experience has shown the *benefit of their grants*, and the *futility of parliamentary taxation as a method of supply*.

These solid truths compose six fundamental propositions. 25 There are three more resolutions corollary to these. If you admit the first set, you can hardly reject the others. But if you admit the first, I shall be far from solicitous whether you accept or refuse the last. I think these six massive pillars will be of strength sufficient to support the temple of British 30 concord. I have no more doubt than I entertain of my existence, that, if you admitted these, you would command an

immediate peace ; and, with but tolerable future management, a lasting obedience in America. I am not arrogant in this confident assurance. The propositions are all mere matters of fact ; and if they are such facts as draw irresistible conclusions even in the stating, this is the power of truth, 5 and not any management of mine.

Sir, I shall open the whole plan to you, together with such observations on the motions as may tend to illustrate them where they may want explanation. The first is a resolution — “ That the colonies and plantations of Great Britain 10 in North America, consisting of fourteen separate governments, and containing two millions and upwards of free inhabitants, have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any knights and burgesses, or others, to represent them in the high court of parliament.” — This is a plain 15 matter of fact, necessary to be laid down, and (excepting the description) it is laid down in the language of the constitution ; it is taken nearly *verbatim* from acts of parliament.

The second is like unto the first — “ That the said colonies and plantations have been liable to, and bounden by, several 20 subsidies, payments, rates, and taxes, given and granted by parliament, though the said colonies and plantations have not their knights and burgesses, in the said high court of parliament, of their own election, to represent the condition of their country ; by lack whereof they have been oftentimes 25 touched and grieved by subsidies given, granted, and assented to, in the said court, in a manner prejudicial to the commonwealth, quietness, rest, and peace of the subjects inhabiting within the same.”

Is this description too hot, or too cold, too strong, or too 30 weak ? Does it arrogate too much to the supreme legisla-

ture? Does it lean too much to the claims of the people? If it runs into any of these errors, the fault is not mine. It is the language of your own ancient acts of parliament.

5                   *Non meus hic sermo, sed quæ præcepit Ofellus,  
Rusticus, abnormis sapiens.<sup>1</sup>*

It is the genuine produce of the ancient, rustic, manly, home-bred sense of this country. — I did not dare to rub off a particle of the venerable rust that rather adorns and preserves, than destroys, the metal. It would be a profanation to 10 touch with a tool the stones which construct the sacred altar of peace.<sup>2</sup> I would not violate with modern polish the ingenuous and noble roughness of these truly constitutional materials. Above all things, I was resolved not to be guilty of tampering: the odious vice of restless and unstable minds. 15 I put my foot in the tracks of our forefathers, where I can neither wander nor stumble. Determining to fix articles of peace, I was resolved not to be wise beyond what was written;<sup>3</sup> I was resolved to use nothing else than the form of sound words;<sup>4</sup> to let others abound in their own sense; and 20 carefully to abstain from all expressions of my own. What the law has said, I say. In all things else I am silent. I have no organ but for her words. This, if it be not ingenuous, I am sure is safe.

There are indeed words expressive of grievance in this 25 second resolution, which those who are resolved always to be in the right will deny to contain matter of fact, as applied to the present case; although parliament thought them true, with regard to the counties of Chester and Durham. They will deny that the Americans were ever "touched and 30 grieved" with the taxes. If they consider nothing in taxes

but their weight as pecuniary impositions, there might be some pretence for this denial. But men may be sorely touched and deeply grieved in their privileges, as well as in their purses. Men may lose little in property by the act which takes away all their freedom. When a man is robbed 5 of a trifle on the highway, it is not the two-pence lost that constitutes the capital outrage. This is not confined to privileges. Even ancient indulgences withdrawn, without offence on the part of those who enjoyed such favours, operate as grievances. But were the Americans then not touched 10 and grieved by the taxes, in some measure, merely as taxes? If so, why were they almost all either wholly repealed or exceedingly reduced? Were they not touched and grieved even by the regulating duties of the sixth of George II.? Else why were the duties first reduced to one-third in 1764, 15 and afterwards to a third of that third in the year 1766? Were they not touched and grieved by the stamp act? I shall say they were, until that tax is revived. Were they not touched and grieved by the duties of 1767, which were likewise repealed, and which Lord Hillsborough tells you (for 20 the ministry) were laid contrary to the true principle of commerce? Is not the assurance given by that noble person to the colonies of a resolution to lay no more taxes on them, an admission that taxes would touch and grieve them? Is not the resolution of the noble lord in the blue riband, 25 now standing on your journals, the strongest of all proofs that parliamentary subsidies really touched and grieved them? Else why all these changes, modifications, repeals, assurances, and resolutions?

The next proposition is — “That, from the distance of 30 the said colonies, and from other circumstances, no method

hath hitherto been devised for procuring a representation in parliament for the said colonies." This is an assertion of a fact. I go no further on the paper; though, in my private judgment, an useful representation is impossible; I am sure it is not desired by them; nor ought it perhaps by us; but I abstain from opinions.

The fourth resolution is—"That each of the said colonies hath within itself a body, chosen in part, or in the whole, by the freemen, freeholders, or other free inhabitants thereof, commonly called the General Assembly, or General Court; with powers legally to raise, levy, and assess, according to the several usage of such colonies, duties and taxes towards defraying all sorts of public services."

This competence in the colony assemblies is certain. It is proved by the whole tenor of their acts of supply in all the assemblies, in which the constant style of granting is, "an aid to his Majesty"; and acts granting to the crown have regularly for near a century passed the public offices without dispute. Those who have been pleased paradoxically to deny this right, holding that none but the British parliament can grant to the crown, are wished to look to what is done, not only in the colonies, but in Ireland, in one uniform unbroken tenor every session. Sir, I am surprised that this doctrine should come from some of the law servants of the crown. I say, that if the crown could be responsible, his Majesty—but certainly the ministers, and even these law officers themselves, through whose hands the acts pass biennially in Ireland, or annually in the colonies, are in an habitual course of committing impeachable offences. What habitual offenders have been all presidents of the council, all secretaries of state, all first lords of trade, all attorneys

and all solicitors general ! However, they are safe ; as no one impeaches them ; and there is no ground of charge against them, except in their own unfounded theories.

The fifth resolution is also a resolution of fact — “ That the said general assemblies, general courts, or other bodies 5 legally qualified as aforesaid, have at sundry times freely granted several large subsidies and public aids for his Majesty’s service, according to their abilities, when required thereto by letter from one of his Majesty’s principal secretaries of state ; and that their right to grant the same, and 10 their cheerfulness and sufficiency in the said grants, have been at sundry times acknowledged by parliament.” To say nothing of their great expenses in the Indian wars ; and not to take their exertion in foreign ones, so high as the supplies in the year 1695 ; not to go back to their public contributions in the year 1710 ; I shall begin to travel only 15 where the journals give me light ; resolving to deal in nothing but fact, authenticated by parliamentary record ; and to build myself wholly on that solid basis.

On the 4th of April, 1748, a committee of this House 20 came to the following resolution :<sup>1</sup>

“ *Resolved* — That it is the opinion of this committee, *That it is just and reasonable* that the several provinces and colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, be reimbursed the expenses 25 they have been at in taking and securing to the crown of Great Britain the island of Cape Breton and its dependencies.”

These expenses were immense for such colonies. They were above £200,000 sterling ; money first raised and 30 advanced on their public credit.

On the 28th of January, 1756, a message from the king came to us, to this effect<sup>1</sup>—“ His Majesty, being sensible of the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects of certain colonies in North America have exerted themselves in defence of his Majesty's just rights and possessions, recommends it to this House to take the same into their consideration, and to enable his Majesty to give them such assistance as may be a proper reward and encouragement.”

On the 3rd of February, 1756, the House came to a suitable resolution, expressed in words nearly the same as those of the message:<sup>2</sup> but with the further addition, that the money then voted was as an *encouragement* to the colonies to exert themselves with vigour. It will not be necessary to go through all the testimonies which your own records have given to the truth of my resolutions, I will only refer you to the places in the journals :

Vol. xxvii. — 16th and 19th May, 1757.

Vol. xxviii. — June 1st, 1758 — April 26th and 30th, 1759 — March 26th and 31st, and April 28th, 1760 — Jan. 9th and 10th, 1761.

Vol. xxix. — Jan. 22nd and 26th, 1762 — March 14th and 17th, 1763.

Sir, here is the repeated acknowledgment of parliament, that the colonies not only gave, but gave to satiety. This nation has formerly acknowledged two things ; first, that the colonies had gone beyond their abilities, parliament having thought it necessary to reimburse them ; secondly, that they had acted legally and laudably in their grants of money, and their maintenance of troops, since the compensation is expressly given as reward and encouragement.<sup>3</sup> Reward is not bestowed for acts that are unlawful ; and encouragement is not held out to things that deserve reprehension. My

resolution therefore does nothing more than collect into one proposition, what is scattered through your journals. I give you nothing but your own ; and you cannot refuse in the gross, what you have so often acknowledged in detail. The admission of this, which will be so honourable to them and 5 to you, will, indeed, be mortal to all the miserable stories, by which the passions of the misguided people have been engaged in an unhappy system. The people heard, indeed, from the beginning of these disputes, one thing continually dinned in their ears, that reason and justice demanded, that 10 the Americans, who paid no taxes, should be compelled to contribute. How did that fact, of their paying nothing, stand, when the taxing system began? When Mr. Grenville began to form his system of American revenue, he stated in this House, that the colonies were then in debt two million 15 six hundred thousand pounds sterling money ; and was of opinion they would discharge that debt in four years. On this state, those untaxed people were actually subject to the payment of taxes to the amount of six hundred and fifty thousand a year. In fact, however, Mr. Grenville was mis- 20 taken. The funds given for sinking the debt did not prove quite so ample as both the colonies and he expected. The calculation was too sanguine ; the reduction was not completed till some years after, and at different times in different colonies. However, the taxes after the war continued too 25 great to bear any addition, with prudence or propriety ; and when the burthens imposed in consequence of former requisitions were discharged, our tone became too high to resort again to requisition. No colony, since that time, ever has had any requisition whatsoever made to it. 30

We see the sense of the crown, and the sense of parlia-

ment, on the productive nature of a *revenue by grant*. Now search the same journals for the produce of the *revenue by imposition*—Where is it?—let us know the volume and the page—what is the gross, what is the net produce?—to 5 what service is it applied?—how have you appropriated its surplus?—What, can none of the many skilful index-makers that we are now employing, find any trace of it?—Well, let them and that rest together.—But are the journals, which say nothing of the revenue, as silent on the discontent?—  
10 Oh, no! a child may find it. It is the melancholy burthen and blot of every page.

I think then I am, from those journals, justified in the sixth and last resolution, which is—“That it hath been found by experience, that the manner of granting the said 15 supplies and aids, by the said general assemblies, hath been more agreeable to the said colonies, and more beneficial, and conducive to the public service, than the mode of giving and granting aids in parliament, to be raised and paid in the said colonies.” This makes the whole of the 20 fundamental part of the plan. The conclusion is irresistible. You cannot say, that you were driven by any necessity to an exercise of the utmost rights of legislature. You cannot assert, that you took on yourselves the task of imposing colony taxes, from the want of another legal body, that is 25 competent to the purpose of supplying the exigences of the state without wounding the prejudices of the people. Neither is it true that the body so qualified, and having that competence, had neglected the duty.

The question now, on all this accumulated matter, is;—  
30 whether you will choose to abide by a profitable experience, or a mischievous theory; whether you choose to build on

imagination, or fact ; whether you prefer enjoyment, or hope ; satisfaction in your subjects, or discontent ?

If these propositions are accepted, everything which has been made to enforce a contrary system, must, I take it for granted, fall along with it. On that ground, I have drawn 5 the following resolution, which, when it comes to be moved, will naturally be divided in a proper manner : “ That it may be proper to repeal an act, made in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, An act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in 10 America ; for allowing a drawback of the duties of customs upon the exportation from this kingdom, of coffee and coconuts of the produce of the said colonies or plantations ; for discontinuing the drawbacks payable on China earthenware exported to America ; and for more effectually preventing 15 the clandestine running of goods in the said colonies and plantations. — And that it may be proper to repeal an act, made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, An act to discontinue, in such manner, and for such time, as are therein mentioned, the landing 20 and discharging, lading or shipping, of goods, wares, and merchandise, at the town and within the harbour of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America. — And that it may be proper to repeal an act, made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, 25 An act for the impartial administration of justice, in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them, in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England. — And that it may be proper to repeal an act, 30 made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present

Majesty, intituled, An act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England.— And, also, that it may be proper to explain and amend an act, made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of 5 King Henry the Eighth, intituled, An act for the trial of treasons committed out of the king's dominions."

I wish, Sir, to repeal the Boston Port Bill, because (independently of the dangerous precedent of suspending the rights of the subject during the king's pleasure) it was 10 passed, as I apprehend, with less regularity, and on more partial principles, than it ought. The corporation of Boston was not heard before it was condemned. Other towns, full as guilty as she was, have not had their ports blocked up. Even the restraining bill of the present session does not go 15 to the length of the Boston Port Act. The same ideas of prudence, which induced you not to extend equal punishment to equal guilt, even when you were punishing, induced me, who mean not to chastise, but to reconcile, to be satisfied with the punishment already partially inflicted.

20 Ideas of prudence and accommodation to circumstances, prevent you from taking away the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, as you have taken away that of Massachusetts colony, though the crown has far less power in the two former provinces than it enjoyed in the latter; and 25 though the abuses have been full as great, and as flagrant, in the exempted as in the punished. The same reasons of prudence and accommodation have weight with me in restoring the charter of Massachusetts Bay. Besides, Sir, the act which changes the charter of Massachusetts is in 30 many particulars so exceptionable, that if I did not wish absolutely to repeal, I would by all means desire to alter it;

as several of its provisions tend to the subversion of all public and private justice. Such, among others, is the power in the governor to change the sheriff at his pleasure ; and to make a new returning officer for every special cause. It is shameful to behold such a regulation standing among English laws. 5

The act for bringing persons accused of committing murder under the orders of government to England for trial is but temporary. That act has calculated the probable duration of our quarrel with the colonies ; and is accommodated 10 to that supposed duration. I would hasten the happy moment of reconciliation ; and therefore must, on my principle, get rid of that most justly obnoxious act.

The act of Henry the Eighth, for the trial of treasons, I do not mean to take away, but to confine it to its proper 15 bounds and original intention ; to make it expressly for trial of treasons (and the greatest treasons may be committed) in places where the jurisdiction of the crown does not extend.

Having guarded the privileges of local legislature, I would 20 next secure to the colonies a fair and unbiassed judicature ; for which purpose, Sir, I propose the following resolution : “That, from the time when the general assembly or general court of any colony or plantation in North America, shall have appointed by act of assembly, duly confirmed, a settled 25 salary to the offices of the chief justice and other judges of the superior court, it may be proper that the said chief justice and other judges of the superior courts of such colony, shall hold his and their office and offices during their good behaviour ; and shall not be removed therefrom, but when 30 the said removal shall be adjudged by his Majesty in coun-

cil, upon a hearing on complaint from the general assembly, or on a complaint from the governor, or council, or the house of representatives severally, or of the colony in which the said chief justice and other judges have exercised the 5 said offices."

The next resolution relates to the courts of admiralty.

It is this:—"That it may be proper to regulate the courts of admiralty, or vice-admiralty, authorized by the fifteenth chapter of the fourth of George the Third, in such 10 a manner as to make the same more commodious to those who sue, or are sued, in the said courts, and to provide for the more decent maintenance of the judges in the same."

These courts I do not wish to take away; they are in themselves proper establishments. This court is one of the 15 capital securities of the act of navigation. The extent of its jurisdiction, indeed, has been increased; but this is altogether as proper, and is indeed on many accounts more eligible, where new powers were wanted, than a court absolutely new. But courts incommodiously situated, in effect, 20 deny justice; and a court, partaking in the fruits of its own condemnation, is a robber. The congress complain, and complain justly, of this grievance.<sup>1</sup>

These are the three consequential propositions. I have thought of two or three more; but they come rather too 25 near detail, and to the province of executive government; which I wish parliament always to superintend, never to assume. If the first six are granted, congruity will carry the latter three. If not, the things that remain unrepealed will be, I hope, rather unseemly encumbrances on the building, than very materially detrimental to its strength and stability.

Here, Sir, I should close ; but I plainly perceive some objections remain, which I ought, if possible, to remove. The first will be, that, in resorting to the doctrine of our ancestors, as contained in the preamble to the Chester act, I prove too much ; that the grievance from a want of representation, 5 stated in that preamble, goes to the whole of legislation as well as to taxation. And that the colonies, grounding themselves upon that doctrine, will apply it to all parts of legislative authority.

To this objection, with all possible deference and humility, 10 and wishing as little as any man living to impair the smallest particle of our supreme authority, I answer, that *the words are the words of parliament, and not mine* ; and, that all false and inconclusive inferences, drawn from them, are not mine ; for I heartily disclaim any such inference. I have 15 chosen the words of an act of parliament, which Mr. Grenville, surely a tolerably zealous and very judicious advocate for the sovereignty of parliament, formerly moved to have read at your table in confirmation of his tenets. It is true, that Lord Chatham considered these preambles as declaring 20 strongly in favour of his opinions. He was a no less powerful advocate for the privileges of the Americans. Ought I not from hence to presume, that these preambles are as favourable as possible to both, when properly understood ; 25 favourable both to the rights of parliament, and to the privileges of the dependencies of this crown ? But, Sir, the object of grievance in my resolution I have not taken from the Chester, but from the Durham act, which confines the hardship of want of representation to the case of subsidies ; and which therefore falls in exactly with the case of the colonies. 30 But whether the unrepresented counties were *de jure* or *de*

*facto*, bound, the preambles do not accurately distinguish ; nor indeed was it necessary ; for, whether *de jure* or *de facto*, the legislature thought the exercise of the power of taxing, as of right, or as of fact without right, equally a grievance, 5 and equally oppressive.

I do not know that the colonies have, in any general way, or in any cool hour, gone much beyond the demand of immunity in relation to taxes. It is not fair to judge of the temper or dispositions of any man, or any set of men, when 10 they are composed and at rest, from their conduct, or their expressions, in a state of disturbance and irritation. It is besides a very great mistake to imagine, that mankind follow up practically any speculative principle, either of government or of freedom, as far as it will go in argument and 15 logical illation. We Englishmen stop very short of the principles upon which we support any given part of our constitution ; or even the whole of it together. I could easily, if I had not already tired you, give you very striking and convincing instances of it. This is nothing but what is 20 natural and proper. All government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue, and every prudent act, is founded on compromise and barter. We balance inconveniences ; we give and take ; we remit some rights that we may enjoy others ; and we choose rather to be happy citizens 25 than subtle disputants. As we must give away some natural liberty, to enjoy civil advantages ; so we must sacrifice some civil liberties, for the advantages to be derived from the communion and fellowship of a great empire. But, in all fair dealings, the thing bought must bear some proportion to 30 the purchase paid. None will barter away the immediate jewel of his soul.<sup>1</sup> Though a great house is apt to make

slaves haughty, yet it is purchasing a part of the artificial importance of a great empire too dear, to pay for it all essential rights, and all the intrinsic dignity of human nature. None of us who would not risk his life rather than fall under a government purely arbitrary. But although there are 5 some amongst us who think our constitution wants many improvements, to make it a complete system of liberty ; perhaps none who are of that opinion would think it right to aim at such improvement, by disturbing his country, and risking everything that is dear to him. In every arduous 10 enterprise, we consider what we are to lose as well as what we are to gain ; and the more and better stake of liberty every people possess, the less they will hazard in a vain attempt to make it more. These are *the cords of man*. Man acts from adequate motives relative to his interest ; and not 15 on metaphysical speculations. Aristotle, the great master of reasoning, cautions us, and with great weight and propriety, against this species of delusive geometrical accuracy in moral arguments, as the most fallacious of all sophistry.

The Americans will have no interest contrary to the grandeur and glory of England, when they are not oppressed by the weight of it ; and they will rather be inclined to respect the acts of a superintending legislature, when they see them the acts of that power, which is itself the security, not the rival, of their secondary importance. In this assurance, 20 my mind most perfectly acquiesces : and I confess, I feel not the least alarm from the discontents which are to arise from putting people at their ease ; nor do I apprehend the destruction of this empire, from giving, by an act of free grace and indulgence, to two millions of my fellow-citizens 25 some share of those rights, upon which I have always been taught to value myself.

It is said, indeed, that this power of granting, vested in American assemblies, would dissolve the unity of the empire ; which was preserved entire, although Wales, and Chester, and Durham were added to it. Truly, Mr. Speaker, I do 5 not know what this unity means ; nor has it ever been heard of, that I know, in the constitutional policy of this country. The very idea of subordination of parts, excludes this notion of simple and undivided unity. England is the head ; but she is not the head and the members too. Ireland has ever 10 had from the beginning a separate, but not an independent, legislature ; which, far from distracting, promoted the union of the whole. Everything was sweetly and harmoniously disposed through both islands for the conservation of English dominion, and the communication of English liberties. I do 15 not see that the same principles might not be carried into twenty islands, and with the same good effect.. This is my model with regard to America, as far as the internal circumstances of the two countries are the same. I know no other unity of this empire, than I can draw from its example during 20 these periods, when it seemed to my poor understanding more united than it is now, or than it is likely to be by the present methods.

But since I speak of these methods, I recollect, Mr. Speaker, almost too late, that I promised, before I finished, 25 to say something of the proposition of the noble lord<sup>1</sup> on the floor, which has been so lately received, and stands on your journals. I must be deeply concerned, whenever it is my misfortune to continue a difference with the majority of this House. But as the reasons for that difference are my 30 apology for thus troubling you, suffer me to state them in a very few words. I shall compress them into as small a

body as I possibly can, having already debated that matter at large, when the question was before the committee.

First, then, I cannot admit that proposition of a ransom by auction ;—because it is a mere project. It is a thing new ; unheard of ; supported by no experience ; justified by 5 no analogy ; without example of our ancestors, or root in the constitution.

It is neither regular parliamentary taxation, nor colony grant. *Experimentum in corpore vili*,<sup>1</sup> is a good rule, which will ever make me adverse to any trial of experiments on 10 what is certainly the most valuable of all subjects, the peace of this empire.

Secondly, it is an experiment which must be fatal in the end to our constitution. For what is it but a scheme for taxing the colonies in the antechamber of the noble lord and 15 his successors? To settle the quotas and proportions in this House, is clearly impossible. You, Sir, may flatter yourself you shall sit a state auctioneer, with your hammer in your hand, and knock down to each colony as it bids. But to settle (on the plan laid down by the noble lord) the true 20 proportional payment for four or five and twenty governments, according to the absolute and the relative wealth of each, and according to the British proportion of wealth and burthen, is a wild and chimerical notion. This new taxation must therefore come in by the back-door of the constitution.<sup>2</sup> 25 Each quota must be brought to this House ready formed ; you can neither add nor alter. You must register it. You can do nothing further. For on what grounds can you deliberate either before or after the proposition ? You cannot hear the counsel for all these provinces, quarrelling each on 30 its own quantity of payment, and its proportion to others.

If you should attempt it, the committee of provincial ways and means, or by whatever other name it will delight to be called, must swallow up all the time of parliament.

Thirdly, it does not give satisfaction to the complaint of 5 the colonies. They complain, that they are taxed without their consent ; you answer, that you will fix the sum at which they shall be taxed. That is, you give them the very grievance for the remedy. You tell them indeed, that you will leave the mode to themselves. I really beg pardon : it 10 gives me pain to mention it ; but you must be sensible that you will not perform this part of the compact. For, suppose the colonies were to lay the duties, which furnished their contingent, upon the importation of your manufactures ; you know you would never suffer such a tax to be 15 laid. You know, too, that you would not suffer many other modes of taxation. So that, when you come to explain yourself, it will be found, that you will neither leave to themselves the quantum nor the mode ; nor indeed anything. The whole is delusion from one end to the other.

Fourthly, this method of ransom by auction, unless it be 20 *universally* accepted, will plunge you into great and inextricable difficulties. In what year of our Lord are the proportions of payments to be settled ? To say nothing of the impossibility that colony agents should have general powers 25 of taxing the colonies at their discretion ; consider, I implore you, that the communication by special messages, and orders between these agents and their constituents on each variation of the case, when the parties come to contend together, and to dispute on their relative proportions, will be a matter of 30 delay, perplexity, and confusion that never can have an end.

If all the colonies do not appear at the outcry, what is the condition of those assemblies, who offer by themselves or their agents, to tax themselves up to your ideas of their proportion? The refractory colonies, who refuse all composition, will remain taxed only to your old impositions, which, 5 however grievous in principle, are trifling as to production. The obedient colonies in this scheme are heavily taxed; the refractory remain unburthened. What will you do? Will you lay new and heavier taxes by parliament on the disobedient? Pray consider in what way you can do it. You are 10 perfectly convinced, that, in the way of taxing, you can do nothing but at the ports. Now suppose it is Virginia that refuses to appear at your auction, while Maryland and North Carolina bid handsomely for their ransom, and are taxed to your quota, how will you put these colonies on a par? Will 15 you tax the tobacco of Virginia? If you do, you give its death-wound to your English revenue at home, and to one of the very greatest articles of your own foreign trade. If you tax the import of that rebellious colony, what do you tax but your own manufactures, or the goods of some other 20 obedient and already well-taxed colony? Who has said one word on this labyrinth of detail, which bewilders you more and more as you enter into it? Who has presented, who can present you with a clue, to lead you out of it? I think, Sir, it is impossible, that you should not recollect that the 25 colony bounds are so implicated in one another, (you know it by your other experiments in the bill for prohibiting the New England fishery,) that you can lay no possible restraints on almost any of them which may not be presently eluded, if you do not confound the innocent with the guilty, and 30 burthen those whom, upon every principle, you ought to

exonerate. He must be grossly ignorant of America, who thinks that, without falling into this confusion of all rules of equity and policy, you can restrain any single colony, especially Virginia and Maryland, the central and most important of them all.

Let it also be considered, that, either in the present confusion you settle a permanent contingent, which will and must be trifling ; and then you have no effectual revenue : or you change the quota at every exigency ; and then on every new repartition you will have a new quarrel.

Reflect besides, that when you have fixed a quota for every colony, you have not provided for prompt and punctual payment. Suppose one, two, five, ten years' arrears. You cannot issue a treasury extent against the failing colony.<sup>1</sup> You must make new Boston Port Bills, new restraining laws, new acts for dragging men to England for trial. You must send out new fleets, new armies. All is to begin again. From this day forward the empire is never to know an hour's tranquillity. An intestine fire will be kept alive in the bowels of the colonies, which one time or other must consume this whole empire. I allow indeed that the empire of Germany raises her revenue and her troops by quotas and contingents ; but the revenue of the empire, and the army of the empire, is the worst revenue and the worst army in the world.

Instead of a standing revenue, you will therefore have a perpetual quarrel. Indeed the noble lord, who proposed this project of a ransom by auction, seemed himself to be of that opinion. His project was rather designed for breaking the union of the colonies, than for establishing a revenue. He confessed, he apprehended that his proposal would not

be to *their taste*. I say, this scheme of disunion seems to be at the bottom of the project ; for I will not suspect that the noble lord meant nothing but merely to delude the nation by an airy phantom which he never intended to realize. But whatever his views may be ; as I propose the peace and union of the colonies as the very foundation of my plan, it cannot accord with one whose foundation is perpetual discord.

Compare the two. This I offer to give you is plain and simple. The other full of perplexed and intricate mazes. 10 This is mild ; that harsh. This is found by experience effectual for its purposes ; the other is a new project. This is universal ; the other calculated for certain colonies only. This is immediate in its conciliatory operation ; the other remote, contingent, full of hazard. Mine is what becomes 15 the dignity of a ruling people ; gratuitous, unconditional, and not held out as matter of bargain and sale. I have done my duty in proposing it to you. I have indeed tired you by a long discourse ; but this is the misfortune of those to whose influence nothing will be conceded, and who must 20 win every inch of their ground by argument. You have heard me with goodness. May you decide with wisdom ! For my part, I feel my mind greatly disburthened by what I have done to-day. I have been the less fearful of trying your patience, because on this subject I mean to spare it 25 altogether in future. I have this comfort, that in every stage of the American affairs, I have steadily opposed the measures that have produced the confusion, and may bring on the destruction, of this empire. I now go so far as to risk a proposal of my own. If I cannot give peace to my 30 country, I give it to my conscience.

But what (says the financier) is peace to us without money? Your plan gives us no revenue. No! But it does — For it secures to the subject the power of REFUSAL; the first of all revenues. Experience is a cheat, and fact a liar, if this power in the subject of proportioning his grant, or if not granting at all, has not been found the richest mine of revenue ever discovered by the skill or by the fortune of man. It does not indeed vote you £152,750 : 11 : 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ths, nor any other paltry limited sum. — But it gives the strong box itself, the fund, the bank, from whence only revenues can arise amongst a people sensible of freedom: *Posita luditur arca.*<sup>1</sup> Cannot you in England; cannot you at this time of day; cannot you, a House of Commons, trust to the principle which has raised so mighty a revenue, and accumulated a debt of near 140 millions in this country? Is this principle to be true in England, and false everywhere else? Is it not true in Ireland? Has it not hitherto been true in the colonies? Why should you presume, that, in any country, a body duly constituted for any function, will neglect to perform its duty, and abdicate its trust? Such a presumption would go against all governments in all modes. But, in truth, this dread of penury of supply, from a free assembly, has no foundation in nature. For first observe, that, besides the desire which all men have naturally of supporting the honour of their own government, that sense of dignity, and that security to property, which ever attends freedom, has a tendency to increase the stock of the free community. Most may be taken where most is accumulated. And what is the soil or climate where experience has not uniformly proved, that the voluntary flow of heaped-up plenty, bursting from the weight of its own rich luxuriance, has ever

run with a more copious stream of revenue, than could be squeezed from the dry husks of oppressed indigence, by the straining of all the politic machinery in the world.

Next we know, that parties must ever exist in a free country. We know, too, that the emulations of such parties, 5 their contradictions, their reciprocal necessities, their hopes, and their fears, must send them all in their turns to him that holds the balance of the state. The parties are the gamesters ; but government keeps the table, and is sure to be the winner in the end. When this game is played, I really think it is 10 more to be feared that the people will be exhausted, than that government will not be supplied. Whereas, whatever is got by acts of absolute power ill obeyed, because odious, or by contracts ill kept, because constrained, will be narrow, feeble, uncertain, and precarious. “*Ease would retract 15  
vows made in pain, as violent and void.*”<sup>1</sup>

I, for one, protest against compounding our demands : I declare against compounding for a poor limited sum, the immense, overgrowing, eternal debt,<sup>2</sup> which is due to generous government from protected freedom. And so may I 20 speed in the great object I propose to you, as I think it would not only be an act of injustice, but would be the worst economy in the world, to compel the colonies to a sum certain, either in the way of ransom, or in the way of compulsory compact. <sup>25</sup>

But to clear up my ideas on this subject—a revenue from America transmitted hither—do not delude yourselves—you never can receive it—No, not a shilling. We have experience that from remote countries it is not to be expected. If, when you attempted to extract revenue from 30 Bengal, you were obliged to return in loan what you had

taken in imposition ; what can you expect from North America ? For certainly, if ever there was a country qualified to produce wealth, it is India ; or an institution fit for the transmission, it is the East India Company. America 5 has none of these aptitudes. If America gives you taxable objects, on which you lay your duties here, and gives you, at the same time, a surplus by a foreign sale of her commodities to pay the duties on these objects, which you tax at home, she has performed her part to the British revenue. 10 But with regard to her own internal establishments ; she may, I doubt not she will, contribute in moderation. I say in moderation ; for she ought not to be permitted to exhaust herself. She ought to be reserved to a war ; the weight of which, with the enemies that we are most likely 15 to have, must be considerable in her quarter of the globe. There she may serve you, and serve you essentially.

For that service, for all service, whether of revenue, trade, or empire, my trust is in her interest in the British constitution. My hold of the colonies is in the close affection 20 which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties, which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government ; — they will cling and 25 grapple to you ; and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood, that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another ; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation ; the cement is gone ; the 30 cohesion is loosened ; and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the

sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you.<sup>1</sup> The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true act of navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond, which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the empire. Do not entertain so weak an imagination, as that your registers and your bonds, your affidavits and your sufferances, your coquets and your clearances, are what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions, and your suspending clauses, are the things that hold together the great contexture of the mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English constitution, which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the empire, even down to the minutest member.<sup>2</sup>

30

Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us

here in England? Do you imagine then, that it is the land tax act which raises your revenue? that it is the annual vote in the committee of supply which gives you your army? or that it is the mutiny bill which inspires it with bravery and discipline? No! surely no! It is the love of the people; it is their attachment to their government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience, without which your army would 10 be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us; a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material; 15 and who therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything, and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our situation, and glow with zeal to fill our place as becomes our station and ourselves, we ought to auspicate 20 all our public proceedings on America with the old warning of the church, *Sursum corda!*<sup>1</sup> We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire; and have made the most 25 extensive, and the only honourable conquests, not by destroy-

ing, but by promoting the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is ; English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

5

In full confidence of this unalterable truth, I now (*quod felix faustumque sit*<sup>1</sup>) lay the first stone of the temple of peace ; and I move you,

“That the colonies and plantations of Great Britain in North America, consisting of fourteen separate governments, <sup>10</sup> and containing two millions and upwards of free inhabitants, have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any knights and burgesses, or others, to represent them in the high court of parliament.”

---

Upon this resolution, the previous question was put, and <sup>15</sup> carried ;— for the previous question 270, against it 78.

---

As the propositions were opened separately in the body of the speech, the reader perhaps may wish to see the whole of them together, in the form in which they were moved for.

“*Moved*, That the colonies and plantations of Great <sup>20</sup> Britain in North America, consisting of fourteen separate governments, and containing two millions and upwards of free inhabitants, have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any knights and burgesses, or others, to represent them in the high court of parliament.” <sup>25</sup>

“That the said colonies and plantations have been made liable to, and bounden by, several subsidies, payments, rates, and taxes, given and granted by parliament ; though the said colonies and plantations have not their knights and bur-

gesses, in the said high court of parliament, of their own election, to represent the condition of their country ; *by lack whereof, they have been oftentimes touched and grieved by subsidies given, granted, and assented to, in the said court, 5 in a manner prejudicial to the commonwealth, quietness, rest, and peace, of the subjects inhabiting within the same.*"

"That, from the distance of the said colonies, and from other circumstances, no method hath hitherto been devised for procuring a representation in parliament for the said 10 colonies."

"That each of the said colonies hath within itself a body, chosen, in part or in the whole, by the freemen, freeholders, or other free inhabitants thereof, commonly called the general assembly, or general court ; with powers legally to raise, 15 levy, and assess, according to the several usage of such colonies, duties and taxes towards defraying all sorts of public services."<sup>1</sup>

"That the said general assemblies, general courts, or other bodies, legally qualified as aforesaid, have at sundry times 20 freely granted several large subsidies and public aids for his Majesty's service, according to their abilities, when required thereto by letter from one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state ; and that their right to grant the same, and their cheerfulness and sufficiency in the said grants, have 25 been at sundry times acknowledged by parliament."

"That it hath been found by experience, that the manner of granting the said supplies and aids, by the said general assemblies, hath been more agreeable to the inhabitants of the said colonies, and more beneficial and conducive to the 30 public service, than the mode of giving and granting aids and subsidies in parliament to be raised and paid in the said colonies."

“That it may be proper to repeal an act, made in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, An act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America ; for allowing a drawback of the duties of customs, upon the exportation from this kingdom, 5 of coffee and cocoa-nuts, of the produce of the said colonies or plantations ; for discontinuing the drawbacks payable on China earthenware exported to America ; and for more effectually preventing the clandestine running of goods in the said colonies and plantations.” 10

“That it may be proper to repeal an act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, An act to discontinue, in such manner, and for such time, as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise, at the town, and 15 within the harbour, of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America.”

“That it may be proper to repeal an act, made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, An act for the impartial administration of justice, in cases of 20 persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England.”

“That it is proper to repeal an act, made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, An act 25 for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England.”

“That it is proper to explain and amend an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry VIII., intituled, An act for the trial of treasons committed out of the 30 king’s dominions.”

“ That, from the time when the general assembly, or general court, of any colony or plantation, in North America, shall have appointed, by act of assembly duly confirmed, a settled salary to the offices of the chief justice and judges of the superior courts, it may be proper that the said chief justice and other judges of the superior courts of such colony shall hold his and their office and offices during their good behaviour ; and shall not be removed therefrom, but when the said removal shall be adjudged by his Majesty in council, upon a hearing on complaint from the general assembly, or on a complaint from the governor, or council, or the house of representatives, severally, of the colony in which the said chief justice and other judges have exercised the said office.”

“ That it may be proper to regulate the courts of admiralty, or vice-admiralty, authorized by the fifteenth chapter of the fourth of George III., in such a manner, as to make the same more commodious to those who sue, or are sued, in the said courts ; *and to provide for the more decent maintenance of the judges of the same.*”

## BIOGRAPHICAL.

1729-1797.

Born in Dublin, January, 1729.  
Early Education.  
Enters Dublin University.  
Law Studies at Middle Temple.  
Early Writings.  
In Ireland with Hamilton.  
Secretary to Lord Rockingham.  
Returned to Parliament from Wendover, 1765.  
Purchase of Beaconsfield.  
Agent for New York.  
Visits France.  
Attitude toward America.  
Returned to Parliament from Bristol, October, 1774.  
Affairs of the Catholics.  
American War.  
Returned to Parliament from Malton, 1780.  
Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow.  
Economical Reform.  
Affairs in India.  
French Revolution.  
Retirement from Public Life, 1794.  
His Son, Richard, succeeds him as Member for Malton.  
Sudden death of his Son.  
Letter to a Noble Lord.  
Death, 1797.

### MINISTRIES DURING BURKE'S POLITICAL LIFE.

Rockingham Ministry . . . . .	1765
Chatham Ministry . . . . .	1766
Grafton Ministry . . . . .	1768
North Ministry . . . . .	1770
Rockingham Ministry . . . . .	1782
Shelburne Ministry . . . . .	1782
Coalition Ministry . . . . .	1783
Pitt Ministry . . . . .	1784

---

### A GROUP OF BURKE'S LITERARY FRIENDS.

Oliver Goldsmith.	George Crabbe.
David Garrick.	Edward Gibbon.
Samuel Johnson.	R. B. Sheridan.
Sir Joshua Reynolds.	Benjamin Franklin.

## ANALYSIS OF PROSE STYLE.

### ELEMENTS.

Vocabulary . . . . .	Peculiarities.
Sentence . . . . .	Kinds.
Paragraph . . . . .	Structure.
Imagery . . . . .	Clearness, Emphasis, Beauty.

### QUALITIES.

<i>Intellectual</i> . . . . .	Clearness . . . . .	{ Simplicity. Precision. Balance. Sublimity. Pathos. Irony. Euphony. Rhythm. Harmony.
<i>Impassioned</i> . . . . .	Force . . . . .	
<i>Artistic</i> . . . . .	Beauty . . . . .	

### PROCESSES.

<i>Description</i> . .	Circumstantial.	Dynamic.	Suggestive.
<i>Narration</i> . .	Historical.	Biographical.	Dramatic.
<i>Exposition</i> . .	Intensive.	Extensive.	Inductive.
<i>Persuasion</i> . .	To Thought.	To Feeling.	To Will.

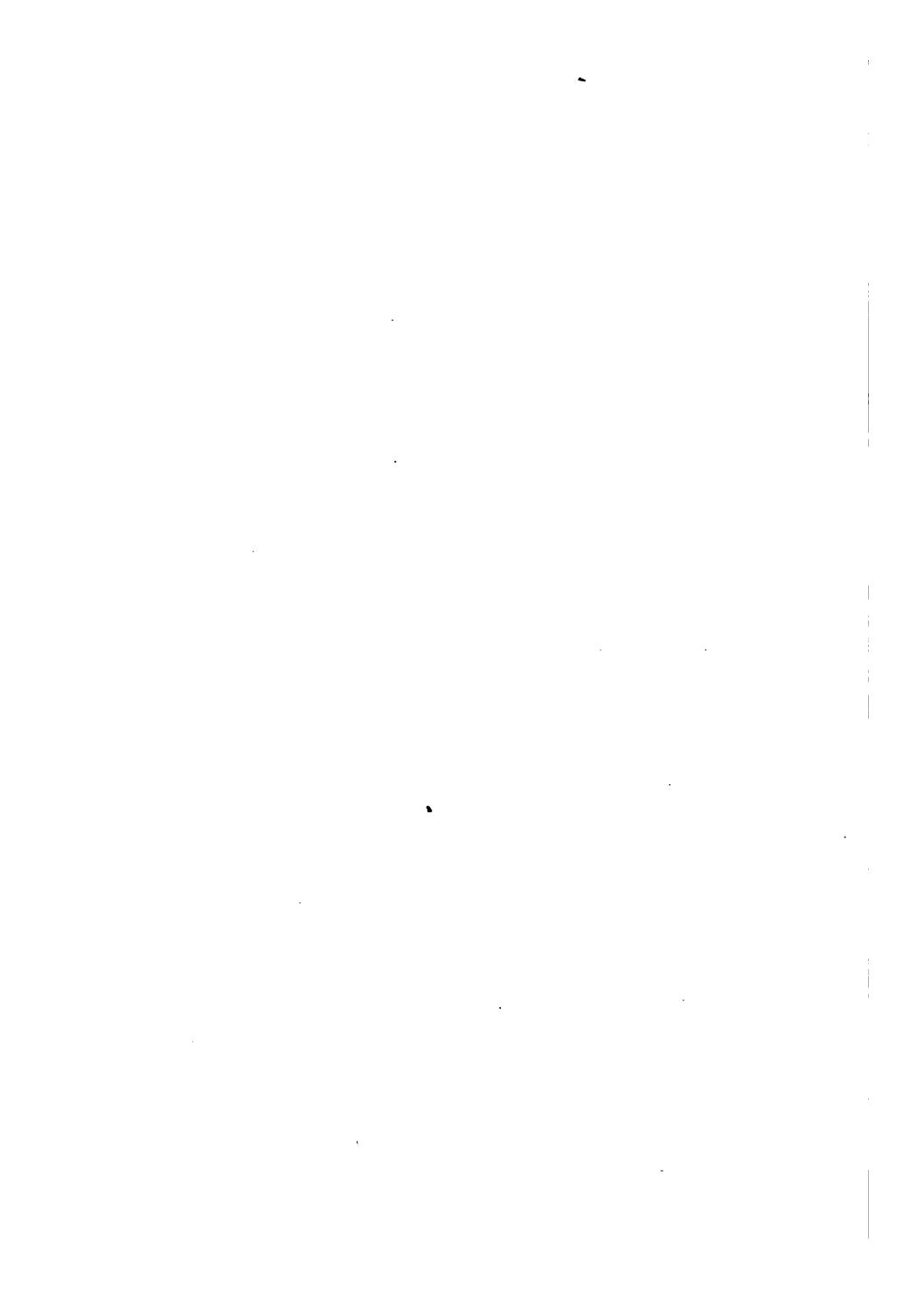
### DIVISIONS.

<i>The Scientific</i> . .	"Ministering to one's instinct for knowledge."
<i>The Poetic</i> . .	"Ministering to one's instinct for conduct and beauty."

### ESSENTIALS.

"Truth and seriousness of subject."  
"Beauty and felicity of form."

The characteristic *Note* of the writer.



## NOTES.

---

### *SPEECH ON CONCILIATION WITH AMERICA.*

THE political career of Burke began with his election to Parliament in 1765, under the Rockingham Ministry, and he made his first speech at the opening of the session 1766. He had already won distinction as a writer, and by this speech he received the praise of Pitt, the Great Commoner. At the close of this Parliament the Chatham Ministry was formed, but Burke remained loyal to Rockingham, and in 1769 published his review of a pamphlet entitled *The Present State of the Nation*. The author of this pamphlet had for his main purpose the justification of the Stamp Act and the praise of the Earl of Bute. The candor, clearness, incisiveness, and force of Burke's article, together with the masterly grasp of essential principles, made it a marvel of political literature. This was soon followed by another upon the *Cause of the Present Discontents*. The people were writhing under the tyranny of the Ministry of Grafton in the affair of the Middlesex election, by which their right to select their own candidate was denied. Burke championed the cause of the injured people, and asserted that "in all disputes between them and their rulers the presumption is at least upon a par in favor of the people." He taunted the government with ignorance, "both of how to yield and how to enforce," and vigorously maintained that "to govern according to the sense and agreeable to the interests of the people, is a great and glorious object of government." The people appreciated such championship, and selected him as their safest and soundest political leader.

The treatment of the American colonies was but the natural result of the despotic principles of King and Commons when carried to their legitimate conclusion. Burke said that this conduct was just that which the

worst enemy of the government would wish, that it was political suicide. The Stamp Act was the assertion that the personal will of the Sovereign was supreme. When it became necessary to repeal this act the real significance of the repeal was destroyed by the passage of the Declaratory Act, in which it was maintained that the British government had the right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever. In 1767 the ministry formed a new scheme of taxation, and imposed a duty upon glass, paper, paints, and tea. This caused so much agitation in the colonies that Parliament (1770) decided to remove all the impositions, except that upon tea. But the Americans were not to be caught in such a trap, and accordingly the tea was not allowed to be landed. This resistance brought down a message from the throne, the result of which was the Boston Port Bill and the bill for regulating the Province of Massachusetts Bay. General Gage was commissioned to proceed to Massachusetts and enforce submission.

Amid the passion and frenzy of these times was heard the calm, clear voice of Burke, as he uttered the famous sentence, "The honorable gentleman has asked, 'Should not America belong to this country?' If we have equity, wisdom, and justice, it will belong to this country; if we have not, it will not belong to this country."

It was in connection with this subject that Mr. Rose Fuller, member for Rye, made the following motion, on April 19, 1774: *Moved*, "That an act made in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled An act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America; for allowing a drawback of the duties of customs upon the exportation from this kingdom of coffee and cocoanuts; of the produce of the said colonies or plantations; for discontinuing the drawbacks payable on china earthenware exported to America; and for more effectually preventing the clandestine running of goods in the said colonies and plantations," might be read.

And the same being read, he moved, "That this House will, upon the day sevennight, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to take into consideration the duty of 3*d.* per pound weight upon tea, payable in all His Majesties dominions in America, imposed by the said act, and also the appropriation of said duty."

When the news came that the tea upon which the royal prerogative

was based had been steeped in Massachusetts Bay, the Privy Council was considering the petition of Massachusetts for the removal of the Governor and Chief Justice. The venerable Dr. Franklin was present to represent the petitioners, and was openly insulted by the solicitor-general. Burke and Dr. Priestly, who witnessed the indignity, were greatly grieved.

On Mr. Fuller's motion to repeal the 3d. tax there was a long list of speakers in opposition, the last being Charles Wolfran Cornwall, one of the lords of the treasury, and to him Burke replied in what is known as the *Speech on Taxation*. Cf. Burke's *American Orations*.

Probably for breadth of grasp, clearness and cogency of reasoning, profound political wisdom, power of description, and biting sarcasm, together with originality and independence, this speech has never been surpassed. The scene in the Commons at its close was a memorable one. Lord John Townsend exclaimed, "Heavens! what a man this is! Where could he acquire such transcendent powers?" George Savile said that it was the greatest triumph within his memory. Colonel Barré said that if it was printed, he would nail it to every church door in the kingdom.

The speech was not printed until the close of the year, because the administration claimed that much of the trouble in America was due to the publication in England of writings hostile to the government.

"On the publication of this speech," says MacKnight, "young men at college, philosophers in their studies, and the better class of politicians became more than ever attracted to Burke." Mr. Bancroft says: "This speech was such as had never been heard in the British Parliament. The words fell from him as burning oracles; and while he spoke for America he seemed to prepare the way for renovating the constitution of England, yet it was not so."

Mr. Fox followed Burke, and for the first time gave his voice and vote for the opposition. On the division just the number that had stood against the Stamp Act stood by Burke against four times as many for the administration.

On the day upon which Parliament was considering the motion for repeal of the tax upon tea, the people of New York sent back the tea ship.

The administration had passed the penal measure, requiring all offenders indicted for crime in the colonies to be transported to England or to a

British colony for trial. The bill legalizing the quartering of troops in Boston was also passed. Burke solemnly renewed his protest against such recklessness and inhumanity.

A measure for the government of Quebec followed ; the purpose of which was to prevent the colonies from extending their territory.

“As the fleets and armies of England,” says Bancroft, “went forth to consolidate arbitrary power, the sound of war everywhere died away. Kings sat still in awe, and nations turned to watch the issue.”

Affairs in America were fast coming to a crisis. Revolution was at hand. Boston was sustained, and preparations were made for a general Congress at Philadelphia. France favored the cause of the colonies. In September, 1774, Congress assembled ; and Patrick Henry sounded the note of war, when, in quoting Hawley, who had said, “After all, we must fight,” said, “I am of that man’s mind.” Virginia nullified the Quebec act, and General Gage was finding that it would be no easy matter to enforce the regulating act. The thirteenth Parliament had been prorogued, and then suddenly dissolved. Burke was not to stand for Wendover again, because Lord Verney, who controlled the district, needed to dispose of it to one who could pay for the privilege. Accordingly the city of Bristol asked Burke to stand in place of Lord Clare, the previous member, who declined to be a candidate after the poll had been open two days. Burke was about to stand for Malton, but immediately drove to Bristol, and ascended the hustings, where he addressed the sheriffs and electors in this speech. Mr. Henry Cruger, a Bristol merchant, was his colleague, while Mr. Brickdale, one of the last members, was a competitor. Cf. Speech on Arrival at Bristol, Burke’s *American Orations*.

During the poll each candidate personally solicited the confidence of the electors, and at its close, on the 3d of November, Burke was declared duly elected. Cf. Speech at the Conclusion of the Poll, Burke’s *American Orations*.

At the opening of the fourteenth Parliament, Nov. 30, 1774, reports from New England showed that war was certain, unless speedy movements were made to crush the colonists. General Gage was instructed to act offensively, and Clinton and Burgoyne were appointed. Franklin vigorously urged conciliation, and on meeting with no encouragement, but the rather with insult, determined to return to America. On taking leave of

Burke, he said, "I lament the separation between Great Britain and her colonies, but it is inevitable." Petitions from merchants from all parts of England were presented to Parliament for a reconciliation before trade was ruined, Bristol taking the lead under the guidance of Burke.

By this time Lords North and Chatham began to think that reconciliation must be attempted in some form, and they had a bill passed to the effect that if any of the colonies would contribute to the common defence, the right of taxation would be suspended in that colony. The offer was spurned; and now came the opportunity for Burke and his party. After frequent consultations at the house of Lord Rockingham, on the day (22d) that Franklin was sailing out of the harbor at Portsmouth, Burke stood forth as the apostle of peace, and introduced his plan of reconciliation in this speech, *On Conciliation with the Colonies*.

P. 1, l. 10. 1. On Feb. 10, 1775, Lord North presented an address from the king, asking for the augmentation of his forces, and then proposed the "Act to restrain the trade and commerce of the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, and Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Islands of the West Indies; and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and other places therein mentioned, under certain conditions and limitations." New England fishermen were to be excluded from a line of industry in which they excelled all nations. By this bill, at one swoop, thousands were to be reduced to beggary. Burke protested most indignantly. "The bread of the needy," he said, "is their life-blood. He who depriveth them of it is a man of blood."

P. 2, l. 19. 1. Cf. the account of Burke's first parliamentary labors in Morley's *Burke*, Chapter II.

L. 28. 2. In 1766, on the repeal of the Stamp Act by the Rockingham administration.

P. 3, l. 20. 1. Mr. Rose Fuller. Cf. *Speech on American Taxation*.

P. 6, l. 22. 1. "That when the governor, council, or assembly, or general court, of any of his Majesty's provinces or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision, according to the condition, circumstances, and situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence (such proportion to be raised under the authority

of the general court or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by Parliament), and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government and the administration of justice, in such province or colony, it will be proper, *if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament*, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, *in respect of such province or colony*, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, or to impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or impose, for regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively." — Resolution moved by Lord North on the committee; and agreed to by the House, 27th February, 1775. Lord North wore the badge of the Knight of the Garter.

P. 7, l. 5. 1. The ministry had passed an address to the king in which they declared that Massachusetts was in rebellion, and urged his Majesty to take immediate action. Cf. Webster, *First Bunker Hill Oration*, page 129, line 27 *et seq.* "The occasion does not require," etc.

P. 9, l. 19. 1. This is in Burke's best style. The comparison beautifully illustrates the idea, and justifies his assertion, that while "the dispute continues, the exaggeration ends." — PROFESSOR GOODRICH.

L. 26. 2. "De minimis non curat lex."

P. 10, l. 10. 1. Mr. Glover, who had appeared at the bar in support of a petition from West Indian planters asking for peace with the colonies, because their commerce was in peril.

P. 11, l. 11. 1. Slave trade.

2. The Spanish Colonies, in spite of the Act of Navigation, carried on trade with the West Indies.

P. 13, l. 2. 1. Burke's reasoning here seems prophetic when considered in the light of the latest statistics regarding the commerce between England and the United States.

L. 15. 2. The quotation is from Virgil's fourth Eclogue, where the allusion is to the birth of a child by the sister of Augustus.

L. 23. 3. Henry, created Lord Apsley and made chancellor in 1771.

P. 14, l. 17. 1. Professor Goodrich questions the propriety of this passage and the following one upon the fisheries, yet are they not the very top and crown of Burke's style! Compare this paragraph with the mag-

nificent tribute to Burke's spirit in Webster's *First Settlement of New England*, page 95, line 1 *et seq.* "It is now five and forty years," etc.

P. 15, l. 23. 1. Alluding to the Roman daughter who, when her father was condemned to starve, obtained access to his cell, and nourished him from her own breasts.

P. 16, l. 9. 1. A small constellation far to the south.

2. Consult *American Cyclopædia*, Art. "Falkland Islands."

P. 17, l. 3. 1. Is it any wonder that such utterances as these caused Burke to be charged with being an American? Compare this paragraph with Webster's review of the prosperity of the colonies, in *First Settlement of New England*, page 89, line 4 *et seq.* "Some retrospect of the century," etc.

P. 18, l. 30. 1. Compare Burke's analysis of the "temper and character of the colonies" in the following paragraphs with that of Webster in *First Settlement of New England*, page 68, line 9 *et seq.* "Of the motives which influenced," etc.

P. 19, l. 11. 1. We see here the secret of Burke's richness of thought. It consisted, to a great extent, in his habit of viewing things in their *causes* or tracing them out in their *results*. Let the reader study these pages with reference to this fact.—PROFESSOR GOODRICH.

P. 20, l. 31. 1. Compare this paragraph with that in Webster's *First Settlement of New England*, page 85, line 3 *et seq.* "Under the influence of these *causes*," etc.

P. 21, l. 13. 1. Compare this with Webster's *First Settlement of New England*, page 112, line 8. "Lastly our ancestors," etc.

P. 22, l. 4. 1. Cf. Matthew Arnold's effective use of this phrase of Hooker's, in *Culture and Anarchy*.

P. 23, l. 10. 1. Alluding to the partition of Poland by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, 1772, by which she lost her national independence.

L. 16. 2. Cf. Webster's *First Settlement of New England*, page 108, line 21 *et seq.* "Having detained you so long," etc.

L. 18. 3. For illustration of this, compare the number of lawyers in the first and in the last Congress.

P. 24, l. 2. 1. General Gage forbade the colonists from holding any town meetings after Aug. 1, 1774. The colonists evaded the prohibition by adjourning over the 1st, and thus meeting, but not under a *call*.

L. 6. 2. Thurlow, the attorney-general.

L. 13. 3. Cf. Bacon's *Essay on Studies*.

L. 30. 4. Horace, *Odes*, Book IV., I, "Ministrum fulminis alitem."

P. 25, l. 19. 1. Compare this statement of Burke in regard to Monarchies and Despotisms with Bryce's Analysis of the workings of the American Constitution.—*American Commonwealth*, Vol. I., Part I., Ch. XXVIII. 1st edition.

P. 26, l. 12. 1. *Hamlet*, Act I., Sc. V.

P. 32, l. 5. 1. Juvenal, *Sat.*, VIII.

L. 31. 2. An illustration of what Matthew Arnold says of Burke: "He is so great because, almost alone in England, he brings thought to bear upon politics; he saturates politics with thought."

P. 34, l. 2. 1. Dryden.

L. 28. 2. For an exhibition of coarse and brutal treatment Professor Goodrich gives the following from Howell's *State Trials*, Vol. II.: "Coke: I will prove you the nootoriest traitor that ever came to the bar. Raleigh: Your words cannot condemn me; my innocency is my defence. Coke: Thou art a monster. Thou hast an English face but a Spanish heart."

P. 35, l. 17. 1. From the very significance of the term.

P. 38, l. 15. 1. Burke has often been accused of too much refining in his speeches, but a careful study of his works will reveal the fact that he seldom anatomizes; he everywhere deals with broad principles, profound, permanent, fruitful.

P. 39, l. 3. 1. *Paradise Lost*, II., 592-3.

L. 19. 2. His statesmanship rises above petty maxims, such as men resort to who think that suspicion is the great law of life, and that the more advantages you can take of your neighbor, the better it is for yourself. — MAURICE.

P. 41, l. 2. 1. Mr. Rice.

P. 42, l. 4. 1. By Dean Tucker. Cf. MacKnight, Vol. II., Ch. XXII., p. 115 *et seq.*

P. 44, l. 16. 1. The Witenagemote was the Parliament of the Anglo-Saxons. Cf. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. I., Ch. VI.

P. 45, l. 2. 1. English settlers in Ireland after the invasion of Strongbow kept themselves, within certain limits, distinct from the natives called the "Pale." They enjoyed English law while the natives were denied it. — PROFESSOR GOODRICH.

P. 46, l. 9. 1. Cf. Green's *Short History of the English People*, Ch. IV.

P. 48, l. 12. 1. Read the "Famous history of the revenue adventures of the Bold Baron North and the good Knight Probert upon the mountains of Venodotia," as so graphically given by Burke in his speech on Economical Reform.

L. 22. 2. Horace, *Ode to Augustus Cæsar*, Book I., 12. A comparison of the peaceful influence of Augustus to that of the twins Castor and Pollux upon storms at sea.

P. 50, l. 19. 1. Cf. Burke's *Speech on Economical Reform*.

P. 54, l. 5. 1. Horace, *Sat.*, I., 2.

L. 11. 2. Ex. xx. 25.

L. 18. 3. St. Paul, 1 Epis. to Cor. iv. 6, Revised Version, "That in us ye might learn not to go beyond the things which are written."

L. 19. 4. St. Paul, 2 Epis. to Tim. i. 13, Revised Version, "Hold the pattern of sound words."

P. 57, l. 21. 1. *Journals of the House*, Vol. XXII.

P. 58, l. 2. 1. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII.

L. 11. 2. *Ibid.*

L. 29. 3. It was claimed that the colonies could not legally make grants to the Crown because it made the king independent of Parliament. Grenville and others were of this opinion. Hence Burke insists upon these precedents. — PROFESSOR GOODRICH.

P. 64, l. 22. 1. The solicitor-general informed Mr. Burke when the resolutions were separately moved that the grievance of the judges partaking of the profits of the seizure had been redressed by office; accordingly the resolution was amended.

P. 66, l. 31. 1. *Othello*, Act III., Sc. V.

P. 68, l. 25. 1. Lord North.

P. 69, l. 9. 1. "Trial should be made with a worthless subject."

L. 25. 2. Through committee.

P. 72, l. 14. 1. A writ or commission for taxing lands.

P. 74, l. 12. 1. Juvenal, *Sat.*, I., 90. Alluding to the excess in gambling.

P. 75, l. 16. 1. *Paradise Lost*, IV., 96-97.

L. 19. 2. *Paradise Lost*, IV., 53.

P. 77, l. 4. 1. 1 Kings viii. 44, 45; Dan. vi. 10. We see everywhere the results of Burke's hours with the poets. Dr. Earle, in his excellent

work on English prose, says: "About the choice of reading there is a very important remark to be made. The writer of English prose should be conversant with English poets."

L. 30. 2. Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI., 726-727.

P. 78, l. 26. 1. The call to prayer in the Roman Catholic Church.

P. 79, l. 7. 1. Roman prayer.

P. 80, l. 17. 1. The first four motions and the last had the previous question put to them. The others were negatived.

On the day of the delivery of this speech strangers were shut out of the gallery, but the House was filled with members. Burke spoke for three hours.

"Silence! hush!

This is no trifler, no short-flighted wit,  
No stammerer of a minute, painfully  
Delivered. No! the Orator hath yoked  
The Hours, like young Aurora, to his car."

The audience which he addressed was by a large majority strongly opposed to his ideas, yet such was the almost superhuman power of his genius and the might of the truths which he laid before them that the members were kindled to the highest heat of enthusiasm, and he took his seat amid loud and general applause from every class of politicians and from all parts of the House.

Thurlow, the attorney-general, followed, and by an adroit appeal to the littleness of party feeling, brought two hundred and seventy members down to his own level of the selfish and the sordid. Only seventy-eight supported Burke in his attempt to avert the horrors of a war between peoples of common blood, common language, and common ancestry.

The speech was immediately published, — only a short time after the publication of his speech on Taxation, — and the two were eagerly studied by the *people* throughout the Empire.

Chatham's Bill for reconciliation should be compared with these Resolutions of Burke.

In this speech, says Dr. Goodrich, Burke took the standpoint of America, while in his speech on Taxation he took the standpoint of England. Mr. John Morley says: "Perhaps the greatest speech Burke ever made was that on Conciliation with America; the wisest in its temper,

the most closely logical in its reasoning, the amplest in appropriate topics, the most generous and conciliatory in the substance of its appeals."

After the rejection of Burke's resolution for *Conciliation*, Parliament had but one more opportunity to voluntarily show pacific spirit. The General Assembly of New York, for which Burke was agent, had not formally joined the Continental Congress, but preferred to remonstrate separately, and sent a petition to the king, a memorial to the House of Commons, a representation to the lords in which the grievances of the colonies were recapitulated and redress requested. Burke moved that this complaint be received, but by a majority of three to one it was insolently refused. No sooner had the House rejected this than it heard that the war had begun. When the colonists were successful, Burke urged reconciliation; when they were met by reverses, he quite as strongly urged the same plan, but all to no purpose. He censured the University of Oxford for applauding when the colonists were defeated. When Lord North planned to starve them to submission, and to employ German mercenaries, he was indignant. When the colonies declared themselves independent of the mother country, he prophesied success. At last Burke and his friends, concluding that they might emphasize their opposition to the administration and assure the people of America that they could act as well as talk, withdrew from the deliberations of the House. Business was then rushed along, and Parliament seemed bound to commit suicide. Franklin was at the court of France, and this act of the colonies inflamed the administration and goaded it on to desperation. When the iniquitous bill for a suspension of the Habeas Corpus came up, those who had withdrawn met at the house of Lord Rockingham, and some advised a return, but Lord Cavendish, the Duke of Polan, and Burke dissented. Fox, Sir George Savile, and Dunning were present and opposed the bill.

Burke's enemies at Bristol were making use of his secession to damage his prospects of a re-election, and as soon as the Habeas Corpus Bill was passed, he sent a letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, and through it he reached the whole British people and replied to the charges. He did not return to the House until April, 1777, when the King's Civil List Bill came up.

Three years had not gone since Burke moved his plan of conciliation, and yet the commissioners sent by the king to sue for peace, and to grant most ample and complete concession, only reserving to the king the very

right for which the colonies contended, — this dignified commission, armed cap-a-pie for an interview with the American Congress, — was fleeing at the tail of a retreating army, and letting fly “their Parthian shafts of manifestoes and remonstrances.” To this issue had the dissension come, — a dissension which might have been prevented by the repeal of the miserable duty upon tea, — a badge of the royal prerogative to tax whom he pleased. The royal commission, when at safe distance from the halls of the American Congress, performed that last and valiant act of issuing a proclamation against the rebellious subjects of their sovereign. This was a scene of buffoonery which Burke must have enjoyed to the utmost.

The colonists went from success to success, until, upon the very day when new supplies were setting sail for America, the war was being ended by the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The news reached Lord North in a few weeks, and in the deepest agony he exclaimed, “O God! it is all over!” Yet he strove still to palliate the blow, until at last General Conway, who had before acted with the administration, moved that an address should be presented to the king against continuing the contest; and after a most aggressive discussion, at half-past one o’clock in the morning, on loud cries of ‘Question! Question!’ the division was ordered, and the government was beaten by a majority of nineteen, and Westminster Hall was a scene of the wildest confusion; joy knew no bounds; the whole metropolis was aroused. At two o’clock Burke left the house, and wrote to his friend, Dr. Franklin: “I congratulate you as the friend of America — I trust as not the enemy of England — I am sure as the friend of mankind — on the resolution of the House of Commons carried by a majority of nineteen. . . . I trust that our happiness may be an introduction to that of the world at large.” The resignation of the minister followed, and the last act which Lord North was to play in this tragedy of action and passion was deeply pathetic as on that bitterly cold night, amid the falling snow driven by keen March winds, on stepping into his carriage at Westminster Hall, he exclaimed to a group of the opposition, “Good-night, gentlemen!” Cf. Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, Burke’s *American Orations*.

## REFERENCES.

---

BANCROFT'S History of the United States, Vols. III., IV., V., VI.  
MAY. Constitutional History.

FISKE, J. American Political Ideas.

“ Beginnings of New England.

“ War of Independence.

MORLEY, J. English Men of Letters Series (Burke).

GOODRICH, C. A. Select British Eloquence (Burke).

STEPHEN, L. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century (Burke).

HAZLITT. Political Essays and Eloquence of the British Senate (Burke).

MACKNIGHT. Life and Times of Edmund Burke.

TAINÉ. English Literature (Burke).

GOSSE. Eighteenth Century Literature (Burke).

MAURICE. Friendship of Books (Burke).

MINTO. Manual of English Prose Literature (Burke).

BASCOM. Philosophy of English Literature (Burke).

BIRRELL, A. Obiter Dicta, 1st Series. (Burke).

GEORGE, A. J. Burke's American Orations.

For periodical literature upon Burke, see *Poole's Index*.



# The Arden Shakespeare.

**The greater plays in their literary aspect, edited by scholars of literary as well as academic distinction, issued in single volumes.**

IN this edition an attempt is made to present the greater plays of the dramatist in their literary aspect, and not merely as material for the study of philology or grammar. Criticism purely verbal and textual has been included to such an extent only as may serve to help the student in his appreciation of the essential poetry. Questions of date and literary history have been fully dealt with in the Introductions, but the larger space has been devoted to the interpretative rather than the matter-of-fact order of scholarship.

The aim is to set forth an adequate literary and artistic interpretation of Shakespeare, free from the metaphysical and moralizing perversion, the superfine intellectuality, and all the misconceptions of dramatic art and confusion of æsthetic standards that have come upon us from Germany, and have been fostered by the transcendental and latter-day critics.

**Cloth. 40 cents a volume.**

---

**D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers**

**BOSTON**

**NEW YORK**

**CHICAGO**

# The Arden Shakespeare.

---

**Richard the Second.** — Edited by C. H. HERFORD, Litt. D., Trinity College, Cambridge; Professor of English at University College, Aberystwyth; Examiner to the University of London. 212 pages.

**Macbeth.** — Edited by EDMUND K. CHAMBERS, B.A., formerly scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Chancellor's English Essayist, 1891. 188 pages.

**Julius Caesar.** — Edited by ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A., formerly scholar of Oriel College, Oxford. 144 pages.

**Hamlet.** — Edited by EDMUND K. CHAMBERS, B.A., formerly scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 224 pages.

**As You Like It.** — Edited by J. C. SMITH, B.A., formerly exhibitioner of Trinity College, Oxford; Lecturer in Owens College, Victoria University. 182 pages.

**Twelfth Night.** — Edited by ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A., formerly scholar of Oriel College, Oxford. 153 pages.

**Henry the Fifth.** — Edited by G. C. MOORE SMITH, M.A., formerly scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge. 260 pages.

**Richard the Third.** — In press. Edited by GEORGE MACDONALD, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford; formerly classical examiner in the University of Edinburgh.

**The Merchant of Venice.** — Edited by H. L. WITHERS, B.A., Principal of the Borough Road Training College; formerly scholar of the Balliol College, Oxford, and assistant master at Clifton College.

**The Tempest.** — Edited by F. S. BOAS, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford.

**Coriolanus.** — Edited by WALTER WORRALL, B.A., Worcester College, Oxford.

**Cymbeline.** — Edited by A. J. WYATT, M.A., Cantab. et Lond.

**King Lear.** — Edited by W. H. LOW, M.A., London.

**A Midsummer Night's Dream.** — Edited by E. K. CHAMBERS, B.A.

The remaining volumes are in preparation.

Cloth. 40 cents a volume.

---

**D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers**

**BOSTON**

**NEW YORK**

**CHICAGO**

# An Introduction to Shakespeare.

By **HIRAM CORSON, LL.D.,**

Professor of English Literature in Cornell University.

THIS work indicates to the student lines of Shakespearean thought which will serve to introduce him to the study of the Plays as plays. The general introductory chapter is followed by chapters on: The Shakespeare-Bacon Controversy, — The Authenticity of the First Folio, — The Chronology of the Plays, — Shakespeare's Verse, — The Latin and Anglo-Saxon Elements of Shakespeare's English. The larger portion of the book is devoted to commentaries and critical chapters upon Romeo and Juliet, King John, Much Ado about Nothing, Hamlet, Macbeth, and Antony and Cleopatra. These aim to present the points of view demanded for a proper appreciation of Shakespeare's general attitude toward things, and his resultant dramatic art, rather than the textual study of the plays. The book is also accompanied by examination questions.

This work is a scholarly and suggestive addition to Shakespeare criticism, especially suited to students' use, by reason of the author's long experience as a teacher, and also valuable to all lovers of Shakespeare, by reason of its independence of opinion, originality, and learning.

**The Nation** : Altogether, so excellent a volume of Shakespeare criticism has not been put forth by an American scholar in many a day. Teachers and students both may profit by it as a model of how to learn in this particular subject.

**Cloth. 400 pages. \$1.50.**

Special price for class use.

---

**D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers**

**BOSTON**

**NEW YORK**

**CHICAGO**

# American Literature.

*An Elementary Text-Book for use  
in High Schools and Colleges.*

By JULIAN HAWTHORNE and LEONARD LEMMON.

THE purpose has been to make this book an organic, living structure; to have the authors treated appear to the pupils as living persons; to enable pupils to comprehend not only the nature of the mind and genius of authors, but also what they tried to accomplish and how near they came to accomplishing it. An effort is made to keep the pupils reminded, concurrently, of the general historical situation during the various literary periods, and how the literature was affected thereby; and of the political or other references that served to give bias and tone to literary productions. The book does not follow any of the hackneyed methods; it aims to stimulate the pupil's thought rather than tax his memory.

It is thought that, upon two fundamental points of its plan, it will fully meet the requirements of teachers; it is rich in material and exercises for the study of literature itself; it is believed that it will be found a safe guide in its literary record and judgments.

**CONTENTS.** INTRODUCTION : I. Colonial Literature. II. Benjamin Franklin. III. The Revolutionary Period. IV. Pioneer Period. *Selections.* V. Some Statesmen and Historians. VI. Poets of the First Half Century. *Selections and Exercises.* VII. Religious and Social Reformers. *Selections and Exercises.* VIII. Nathaniel Hawthorne. IX. From Hawthorne to Bret Harte. *Selections and Exercises.* X. The Innovators. XI. Writers of To-day : 1. *The Imaginative Group.* 2. *Analytic Novelists.* 3. *Romantic Novelists.* 4. *Dialect Novelists.* 5. *Naturalists.* 6. *Essayists and Historians.* 7. *Humorists.*

Cloth. 350 pages. Illustrated. Introduction price, \$1.18.

---

D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers

BOSTON

NEW YORK

CHICAGO

# AN INTRODUCTION TO THE Study of English Fiction.

By **WILLIAM EDWARD SIMONDS, Ph.D.**

Professor of English Literature, Knox College.

**E**NGLISH fiction is eminently worthy of the attention of the student of literature, and the history of its development is a subject not unsuited to the methods of the class-room. The purpose of this volume is to provide material for a comparative study of our fiction in its successive epochs, and for an intelligent estimate of the characteristics and merits of our story-tellers in the various stages of their art. The book is inductive in plan. A brief historical outline is presented in five introductory chapters which bear the following titles: I. Old English Story Tellers. II. The Romance at the Court of Elizabeth. III. The Rise of the Novel. IV. The Perfection of the Novel. V. Tendencies of To-day. VI. Books for Reference and Reading. These chapters are followed by twelve texts illustrative of the different periods described. These selections are: I. Beowulf. II. King Horn. III. Arcadia. IV. Forbonius and Prisceria (entire). V. Doron's Wooing. VI. Shepherds' Wives' Song. VII. Jack Wilton. VIII. Euphuism (from "A Margarite of America"). IX. Moll Flanders. X. Pamela. XI. Tom Jones. XII. Tristram Shandy.

**F. J. Furnival, *The Shakespearian, London, England*:** I'm glad you've written on fiction. It is the greatest power in literature now, and has been the least studied scientifically. You've done the right thing.

**R. G. Moulton, *Professor of Literature in English, University of Chicago*:** You are rendering a great service to literary education in recognizing fiction as a field for inductive treatment. The arrangement of the work will greatly increase its practical usefulness.

**C. F. Richardson, *Professor of English, Dartmouth College*:** The book seems to me an honest and original piece of work, well thought out, and of distinct utility in promoting the *comparative* study of English fiction.

Cloth. 240 pages. \$1.00.

---

**D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers**

**BOSTON**

**NEW YORK**

**CHICAGO**

# *The Literary Study of the Bible. . . .*

An account of the Leading Forms of Literature  
represented in the Sacred Writings. Intended  
for English readers.

By RICHARD G. MOULTON, Ph.D.,

Professor of Literature in English in the University of Chicago.

THIS book deals with the Bible as literature, without reference to theological or distinctively religious matters, or to the historical analysis which has come to be known as "the higher criticism." With a view to the general reader it endeavors to bring out the literary interest of Scripture, so often obscured by reading in verses or short fragments. For the professed student of literature it has the further purpose of discussing methodically such literary forms as epic, lyric, dramatic, etc., so far as they appear in one of the world's great literatures. It assumes that the English Bible is a supreme classic, the thorough study of which must form a part of all liberal education.

**CONTENTS.** INTRODUCTION: *The Book of You*, and the various kinds of literary interest represented by it. Book I: Literary classification applied to the Sacred Literature. Book II: Lyric Poetry of the Bible. Book III: Biblical History and Epic. Book IV: The Philosophy of the Bible, or Wisdom Literature. Book V: Biblical Literature of Prophecy. Book VI: Biblical Literature of Rhetoric. APPENDICES.—I: Literary Index to the Bible. II: Tables of Literary Form. III: On the Structural Printing of Scripture. IV: Use of the Digression in "Wisdom."

William F. Warren, *President of Boston University (in Zion's Herald)*: The book is everywhere fresh and suggestive. The author has an immense capacity for making a subject clear and lending to it a fascination by his new way of presenting it. Under his teaching, the English Bible becomes our supreme classic. The torch he kindles sheds a flood of light over the whole book.

545 pages. Large 12mo. Cloth. \$2.00.

---

D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers

BOSTON

NEW YORK

CHICAGO

# *Webster and Burke.*

Edited by A. J. GEORGE, A.M.

## *Select Speeches of Daniel Webster.*

WEBSTER'S name is unquestionably the greatest in American political literature; it is the only one that can stand comparison with Burke's. These selections represent him in the several distinct fields in which his genius manifested itself so powerfully,—before the Supreme Court, in the Senate, before a jury, on a great historic occasion, as a eulogist, and in a national election.

Cloth. 404 pages. \$1.50.

## *Burke's Speeches on the American War,*

### *and Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol.*

THIS work is edited in the hope that, by furthering the study of the greatest political classic in the English language, it may also further that spirit which seeks to study history as revealed in literature, and literature as inspired by great historical events. In the preparation of the notes, the editor has confined himself to the historical setting and interpretation of the work.

Cloth. 254 pages. Introduction price, 60 cts.

## *Webster's First Bunker Hill Oration.*

With preface, introduction, and notes.

Boards. 54 pages. Introduction price, 20 cts.

## *Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America.*

With introduction and notes.

BOTH of the above selections are set for the college preparatory work, the examination upon which "presupposes a thorough study of subject-matter, form, and structure of the period, tendency and type of literature," which they represent.

Boards. 117 pages. Introduction price, 30 cts.

---

**D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers**

BOSTON

NEW YORK

CHICAGO

# *Wordsworth.*

Edited by A. J. GEORGE, A.M.

## *Wordsworth's Prelude.*

An Autobiographical Poem.

THIS work is prepared as an introduction to the life and poetry of Wordsworth. The poet himself said, "My life is written in my works." The life of a man who did so much to make modern literature a moral and spiritual force cannot fail to be of interest to students of history and literature.

Cloth. 354 pages. Introduction price, 75 cts.

## *Selections from Wordsworth.*

THESE selections are chosen with a view to illustrate the growth of Wordsworth's *mind and art*; they comprise only such poems of each period as are considered the poet's best work.

The method of annotation used in the edition of the *Prelude*, has been followed here; a method which insists upon the study of *literature as literature*, and not as a field for the display of the technicalities of grammar, philology, and poetics.

Cloth. 452 pages. Introduction price, 90 cts.

## *Wordsworth's Prefaces and Essays on Poetry.*

IN these various essays we have the evolution of that poetic creed which has made Wordsworth rank among the great critics of the century. Mr. George has collected and illustrated them by allusion to the principles of criticism which have prevailed from Aristotle to Matthew Arnold.

Cloth. 133 pages. Introduction price, 50 cts.

---

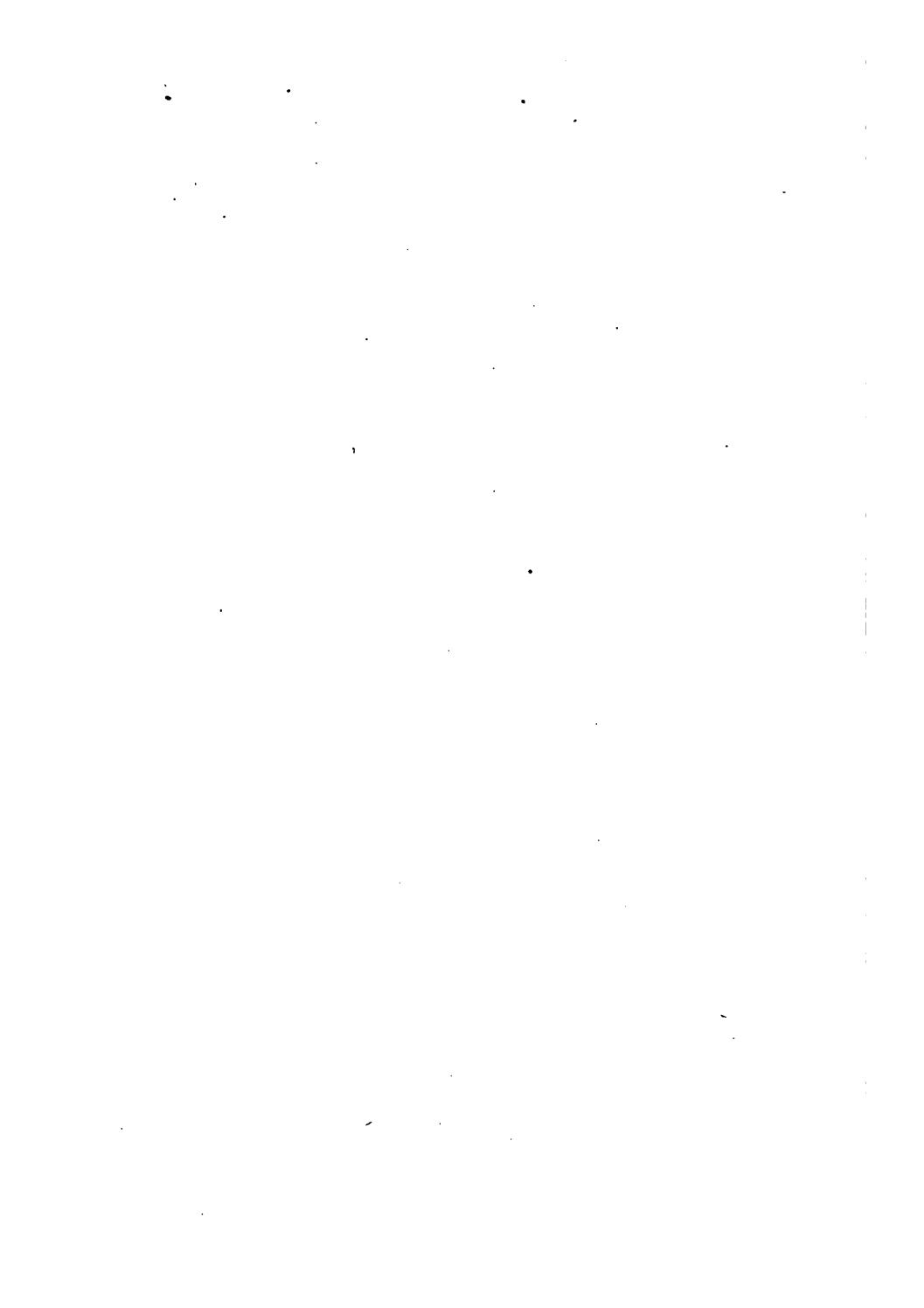
D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers

BOSTON

NEW YORK

CHICAGO





This book should be returned to  
the Library on or before the last date  
stamped below.

A fine of five cents a day is incurred  
by retaining it beyond the specified  
time.

Please return promptly.



